

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN

by

Robert H. MacDonald

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PREFACE

William Drummond of Hawthornden died in 1649, leaving behind him a considerable body of holograph manuscripts, and a sizeable library. This study of his manuscripts is based in part on my work on his library (to be published as The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden by Edinburgh University Press), which consists of a catalogue of Drummond's books, and essays describing the subjects they cover. I had hoped that publication would take place before this thesis was completed, and thus I have in the thesis given references to The Library.

The late Professor John Butt suggested this subject to me, and encouraged me during its early stages. To him, and to my supervisors Professor John MacQueen and Miss Winifred Maynard, I am most grateful. I would like, too, to acknowledge the help I have received from several departments in the University, but most particularly, from Mr. David West and Professors Gordon Donaldson and C. P. Brand. The staff of the National Library of Scotland were most helpful, and gave me much good advice, especially on the difficulties of Drummond's hand. Finally, I am indebted to the University of Edinburgh itself for a postgraduate scholarship given to me while this study was in progress.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

Aldis	Harry G. Aldis, <u>A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 ...</u> (Edinburgh, 1904).
Allison and Rogers	Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, <u>A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640</u> (Bognor Regis, 1956). 2 pts.
BM	British Museum (General Catalogue).
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale (General Catalogue).
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography.
DOST	Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.
EUL	Edinburgh University Library.
Fogle	French Rowe Fogle, <u>A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden</u> (New York, 1952).
<u>Genealogy</u>	William Drummond, first Viscount of Strathallan, <u>The Genealogy of the Most Noble House of Drummond</u> , ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1831).
Greg	Walter Wilson Greg, <u>A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration</u> , The Bibliographical Society (London, 1939-59). 4 vols.
Herford and Simpson	Ben Jonson, <u>The Works</u> , ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1925-52). 11 vols.
Kastner	William Drummond of Hawthornden, <u>The Poetical Works</u> , ed. L. E. Kastner, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1913). 2 vols.
Kastner and Charlton	Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, <u>The Poetical Works</u> , ed. L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1921-29). 2 vols.

- Laing David Laing, "A Brief Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; with Extracts, containing several unpublished Letters and Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden," in Archaeologia Scotica: or, Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, IV (Edinburgh, 1857).
- Library Robert H. MacDonald, The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden (forthcoming publication).
- Masson David Masson, Drummond of Hawthornden: the Story of his Life and Writings (London, 1873).
- Meikle William Fowler, The Works, ed. Henry W. Meikle, J. Craigie and J. Purves, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1914-40). 3 vols.
- NLS National Library of Scotland.
- OED Oxford English Dictionary.
- STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, The Bibliographical Society (London, 1946).
- STS Scottish Text Society.
- Works (1711) William Drummond of Hawthornden, The Works of W. D. ... Consisting of those which were formerly printed, and those which were design'd for the press. Now published from the author's original copies, ed. John Sage and Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1711).

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MSS

When transcribing from the MSS I have reproduced Drummond's words exactly as they appear, with the following exceptions: I have expanded contractions (except in the Inventory), supplied some punctuation where the sense demands, and not tried to follow Drummond on capitalization (he is quite erratic on this; it means little to him; I have allowed his capitals in common nouns, and where they were wanting, usually supplied them for proper nouns). His Scots "ȝ" I have transcribed as "y" (its correct value), though, since it is useful as an indication of the date of composition (Drummond abandoned Scots after about 1610), I have rendered it in the Inventory, for the sake of convenience, as "z."

INTRODUCTION

Literary remains often survive more by good luck than good management: looking at the history of the Hawthornden MSS the wonder is that they exist at all. For more than one hundred and fifty years after Drummond's death his papers were treated in a most casual way; handed out to editors, looked over, neglected, lost, scribbled upon and shuffled, till we might think ourselves fortunate to have any left. In the last century a responsible scholar came forward to save what he could, and one of his first emotions was an intense regret at the amount of valuable material that had been destroyed.

Drummond died in 1649, leaving behind him in manuscript an unpublished history, several unpublished political essays, a considerable number of posthumous poems, some letters, commonplace books and miscellaneous notes. The history and the essays were at first thought too controversial for immediate publication,¹ and the poems had been suppressed by Drummond himself; nevertheless six years later the bulk of this material was offered to the public. Drummond's son William was a youth of fourteen on his father's death; Drummond's brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, sorted through the MSS and sent to the printer Richard Tomlins in London the history and some letters, and a year later, some poems.² (The originals may

1. Since they advocated monarchy and moderation. See Chapter VIII.

2. See Kastner, I, lxxxiii-lxxxvi.

have gone to London, but it seems more likely that Sir John had copies made for Tomlins and his editors, Mr. Hall and Edward Phillips.)

During the next fifty years the MSS lay at Hawthornden, where they were pawed over from time to time by Drummond's son, now Sir William, and scribbled upon by Drummond's daughter Eliza.¹ Sir William went through the papers and marked the contents - perhaps with a thought to their publication - and censored the letters, erasing as many phrases referring to the family poverty as caught his eye. He may have destroyed some leaves, for there are gaps in this volume of the MSS.

Around the turn of the century Sir William gave the MSS to the editors of the Works (1711) - Thomas Ruddiman is thought to be chiefly responsible for this edition² - who searched them for unpublished material, took what they could find, and afterwards returned them to Hawthornden. If they mislaid any pieces in the process of printing, we might suppose that whatever they lost was at least printed. The MSS remained with the family for the next seventy years, until the husband of the last surviving descendent of the poet, a Bishop William Abernethy Drummond, decided to disperse his wife's property, giving away the poet's papers, and carrying off what was left

1. Her name occurs several times on the MSS. She was born in 1632, and would be old enough to know better by the time of Drummond's death, so the scribbles may belong to some other Eliza.

2. Kastner, I, lxxxviii-lxxxix.

of his library to the Episcopal diocese at Brechin. He passed the MSS to the Earl of Buchan, a noted antiquary, who afterwards arranged for their donation to the society he had founded in Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Between them Dr. Abernethy Drummond and the Earl of Buchan may have lost some of the MSS, for the Earl's accounts of what he first saw among Drummond's papers and what was later found there are contradictory. When asked in the most polite terms whether he had retained any parts of the MSS in his own possession he denied it, and claimed to have deposited the "whole ... with James Cummyng, the then Secretary of that Society of Antiquaries"¹

We may suspect the Earl of negligence, and we cannot do less with the Society of Antiquaries. James Cummyng kept the Society's museum and library in his own home, and there the MSS went, while Cummyng met the occasional inquiry from interested persons such as James Boswell.² On Cummyng's death there seems to have been some difficulty in deciding what was his and what was the Society's, and nobody appears to have cared very much, least of all the Society. There is the possibility that some parts of the MSS were detached at this time and dispersed with Cummyng's personal property, though

1. Laing, p. 60.

2. A letter of Boswell's to Cummyng dated 15 April 1785, inquiring about Drummond's "Conversations" with Ben Jonson, survives in Edinburgh University Library; La. II. 82.

there is no record of any loss in the catalogue of his sale.¹

In 1820 the scholar David Laing interested himself in the MSS, and having studied them carefully, decided some years later that they should be arranged and put in order. He thus had them bound "to give them a chance of safe preservation for the future" and to render them "more accessible to those who may have occasion to consult them." He read a paper to the Society describing their contents, giving extracts of some of his discoveries, and scolded the Society directly and by implication for their previous irresponsibilities. He had found the MSS, he said, a "confused mass, in loose sheets or bundles."² The MSS stayed in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, until in 1935 they were given to the National Library of Scotland on permanent loan, where they are at present shelved.

The MSS as Laing found them - and as they have been preserved for us - consisted of Drummond's commonplace books, several drafts of his histories, drafts of his letters and political essays and a workbook of his later poems. These were all in Drummond's own hand, and with them were the MSS of Drummond's uncle William Fowler. Fowler too had had an active literary life, and as the secretary of Queen Anne, he had been close to the affairs of the court. In his MSS are drafts of

1. David Laing made a search of the sale catalogue. Laing, p. 61.

2. Laing, p. 62.

his poetry, and many letters and documents from his political career. Drummond inherited the Fowler papers on his uncle's death in 1614.

Laing kept both Drummond's and Fowler's MSS together, and even allowed some of Drummond's scattered papers to remain among his uncle's. He was probably responsible for naming the whole the "Hawthornden MSS". He had all the MSS bound into volumes, numbered from one to fifteen, but apart from placing most of Drummond's first and Fowler's last, he put the contents of these volumes into no logical order. The histories come first, the commonplace books next, the poems last. In my inventory of the MSS I have attempted to place the volumes in chronological order, and though there is some overlap between a few of the papers, the MSS by this organization run from the first commonplace book, begun during Drummond's twenty-first year in 1606, through to the last volume of his histories, written in the years just before his death in 1649.

Since Drummond's papers cover a period of about forty years, they are written in a variety of hands. Drummond's writing is at first small and cramped. It becomes in his maturity more expansive, and in his last years degenerates into an untidy scrawl. He uses the normal cursive hand, and throughout his life his formation of letters is consistent. At first in the MSS his spelling is Scots, but after about 1610 he learns English usage, and thereafter only a few Scotticisms escape him. With his Anglicization he drops his

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miles in length 8 miles in breadth being the number of 1000000
in his lordship are great numbers of houses and villages
of stone and wood 2 large towns of stone and wood
houses in his lordship are great numbers of houses and villages
3 on of his lordship is not correct of his lordship
name, but his lordship is not correct of his lordship
it moves on his lordship is not correct of his lordship
transport his lordship is not correct of his lordship
4 In the name of a stone found in the river of his lordship
from the river of his lordship is not correct of his lordship
5 In the name of a castle of his lordship is not correct of his lordship
top of his lordship is not correct of his lordship
6 In the name of a castle of his lordship is not correct of his lordship
it is called his lordship is not correct of his lordship
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stone to his lordship is not correct of his lordship
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10 In the tenth place the profits of the
11 In the eleventh place the profits of the
12 In the twelfth place the profits of the
13 In the thirteenth place the profits of the

13/ To y^e Worth friend M. Benjamin Jonson. 28
 s^r by your humble of your e^ll^d was a cause of my
 silence by your past, I your advertisement by pocket
 upon your yet a man so famous can not be in
 any place out of the city or court except
 yet shall not be found out. In my last I sent
 a description of Long Comond with a

PLATE II. An example of Drummond's hand, in 1619
 (MS 2061, f. 28r)

The first of the many in the
 of the first of the many in the

been on a Bed of State v^ol^um^e
 and Emblems of ~~all~~ on a Bed of State v^ol^um^e
 and Embroidered all about and side by
 Lab known Marie Moter to our sweet son
 raine, by my will embellish gentle some page
 of your Booke, and is worth your remembrance
 the first is the Loadstone turning towards the pole
 the word your M^s Name turned in an anagram
 M^a rⁱa s^teⁿa^rt sa v^or^tu m^atⁱrⁱd
 by your reference to a t^ransfixe, before by my
 way all your royal ornaments here is embellish
 on your knees most kindest, by the word
 Vndique. an impresa of Marie of Lorraine per
 Moter, the Phoenix in flames, the word en ma
 fin got mon commencement. The impresa of an
 apple tree growing in a thorne. the word per
 vincula crescit. The Impresa of Henry the second
 by being king a cheffaut, the word donec totum
 implent orbem. The impresa of K. Francis the first
 a Salamander standing in the midst of flames, the
 word ~~extinguo~~ at extinguo.
 Nutrisco

Booke
 in
 the
 your
 ref^d

* To Benj. Jonson the Poet
 Printed

13

To y^e Worth friend M. Benjamin Johnson. 28
 s^r by your desire of your ~~old~~ ^{new} a cause of my
 silence by your past, I have advertised by pocket
 upon your yet a man so famous can not be in
 any place or of the other or court house
 yet shall not be found out. In my last I sent
 a description of Long Comond with a

Book
 for
 the
 year
 1619

PLATE II. An example of Drummond's hand, in 1619
 (MS 2061, f. 28r)

Handwritten note in the left margin, partially obscured and difficult to decipher.

and Embliments of ~~the~~ on a Bed of State with
 and Embroidered all about sides by the
 Lab L. Maria Moter to our sacred son
 rain, by my will embellish gently some page
 of your Book, and is with your remembrance
 the first is the Loadstone turning towards the pole
 the word your M^s Name turned in an anagram
 M^a Maria st^a n^a z^a s^a v^a r^a t^a m^a t^a t^a i^a d^a
 Maria st^a n^a z^a s^a v^a r^a t^a m^a t^a t^a i^a d^a
 by your reference to a ~~reference~~, before my
 my all your royal ornaments here is printed
 on your knees most kindest, with the word
 Vndique. an impresa of Maria of Lorraine per
 Moter, A Phoenix in flames, the word en ma
 fin got mon commencement. The impresa of an
 apple tree growing in a tree. the word per
 vincula crescit. The impresa of Henry the second
 the young king a cheffaut, the word donec totum
 implent orbem. The impresa of K. Francis the first
 a Salamander between the midst of flames, the
 word ~~extinguo~~ at extinguo.

Nutrisso

* To Benj. Johnson the Poet
 Printed

erin.
me

X 11 Shillings over to me by the Subz.
doubt to Parkett.
Robert Gryan was the son of the
Daughter of Waller one of the
of Peter Parker was married
Daughter of the daughter
Married to a cousin
to Parker was the Robert Parker

129

PLATE III. An example of Drummond's hand, late 1640's
(MS 2061, f. 129r)

and the 12th of the
Baker of the
28 born a son. James was the father
who married 13 of October.
29 duffed young. James and Bimus. 28 Jan. James was
born black tooth. called your day
1644
30 June of Lady Roxburgh is a strange thing
born in a Bed. paid all to the
all the children born by the
31 June of for in Hall garden. one of the Parkett
paid only of 52 the daughter
Dyke died by 7 of September. 68 the way S. J.
S. J.
Now the
11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644.
11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644.
11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644.
11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644. 11th of the 1644.

initial "v" (as in "vood") for "w" (as in "wood"), and his spelling gradually conforms to the English practice of his time. His spelling in Latin is careful for the most part, but in French and Italian he is often inaccurate, and he usually omits accents. He employs the con- and the n or m contractions by habit; he almost never uses a "j" (but rather an "i") and always has medial "u" for "v" (as in "vniuerse"). His treatment of capitalization is erratic.

In this thesis I am concerned only with Drummond's share of the Hawthornden MSS, for this is the largest part and the least known. Fowler's papers have been used for the Scottish Text Society edition of his works, and an adequate inventory of them is printed there.¹ Drummond's papers on the other hand have been neglected, and as I show in Chapter VII, even the most recent editor of his poems failed to study them carefully enough, with the result that he produced an edition that can hardly be called definitive. The inventory in Volume II gives full details of all Drummond's MSS that survive; I will discuss its importance to the thesis later in this introduction.

The inventory shows what is left of Drummond's MSS, but how much is missing? The most well-known is the original manuscript of the so-called "Conversations" with Ben Jonson,

1. See Meikle, III, xliii-xlviii.

the paper that has earned Drummond the dubious honour of being a familiar footnote in English literary history. The title or wrapping of this survives, but for the text we are dependent upon the transcript of Sir Robert Sibbald,¹ made about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The original certainly did exist (and its existence has recently been confirmed by the discovery of Drummond's copy of Jonson's Works (1616) with corroborative marginalia),² and the originals of the letters from Drayton, Jonson and Sir William Alexander must have also existed. These were printed by the editors of the Works (1711), and they may have never been replaced in the body of the MSS.³ One of these letters at least remained in Hawthornden castle until the present century, but its survival is only a happy accident.⁴ Bishop Sage in his Life of Drummond attached to the Works (1711) speaks of "the short Notes he leaves behind him of his own Life," and even quotes from the MS.⁵ This too is gone.

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1. Printed Herford and Simpson, I, 128-78.
 2. See J. R. Barker, "A Pendant to Drummond of Hawthornden's Conversations," RES, XVI (1965), 284-8.
 3. On the other hand, the writer of the Preface himself says "through the length and injury of Time, there are a great many of the original Letters lost" Works (1711), Preface.
 4. See Bent Juel-Jensen, "Michael Drayton and William Drummond of Hawthornden: a lost autograph letter rediscovered," The Library, XXII (1967), 328-30.
 5. Works (1711), p. v.

These are the main losses, but there are probably other important losses which we know nothing about. There are in the MSS very few drafts of any poems printed during Drummond's lifetime (that is, poems from his chief works): these were probably destroyed by Drummond himself after clean copies went to the printer. The commonplace books may be incomplete, for the two that exist contain no notes on a number of Drummond's favourite authors like Marino.

There are minor losses, but these do not seem too important, and what we have of the MSS are probably more or less in the state they were when Drummond died. The odd lost leaf might have given us an interesting detail, though the chances are that we can guess the contents from its context. What the editors destroyed they gave us (we suppose) in print, and so though we lack, for instance, the actual letters of Ben Jonson, at least we know what was in them.

There is little chance now that any of the missing pieces have survived and will be found. A little MS named the "Memorialls" turned up with Drummond's books in the Brechin Episcopal Library - this is not the "Short Notes ... of his own Life" that Bishop Sage mentioned - but nothing else from that source. David Laing collected some copies in Drummond's hand of letters from Elizabeth I to James VI; from the size and nature of the paper these were strays from the main body of the MSS, and in fact, on the last leaf have the same sort of notes as appear in the commonplace books. I have searched

through the legal papers of Hawthornden estate, but apart from finding four leaves from a rough draft of Drummond's history, and a number of accounts and trivial memoranda in Drummond's hand, that cupboard too is bare.¹ If anything else has survived, it will be in a place not known to have Drummond associations.

In this thesis I have tried first of all to describe exactly what is in the MSS, and for this the inventory is my foundation. This inventory is an item by item, page by page, list of all the contents of Drummond's papers, and for each item I have attempted an identification of Drummond's source. From this inventory one can see the whole range of Drummond's interests, historical, literary, social and personal. On the inventory are based such pieces as my study of the canon of his poetry (Chapter VII). The MSS are so voluminous and often so muddled that it was necessary to construct an apparatus to study them in detail, and from this study many an interesting discovery has come to light. To give one small example here: there is one page in the MSS on which are Drummond's notes on some poems of John Cleveland.² When the work from which his notes are taken exists, Drummond is hardly informative, but in this case, Cleveland's poems are lost. This page would of course have been of interest to Cleveland's editors, had they

1. See the Inventory for all these items. The "Memorialls" do not have the passage quoted by Bishop Sage.

2. See Inventory.

only known about it.

The Hawthornden MSS have been neglected, chiefly, I suspect, because of their size and the muddle they are in. I hope that the inventory I have made will prove useful to others.

In the chapters that follow I have selected certain subjects for study, and my selection has been designed to give a representative picture of the whole. I begin with Drummond's reading and the notes he made upon it, and follow up this with a study in detail of one section of these notes. My chapter on Drummond's visit to the theatre in Bourges is next: this is a good example of how close examination of an apparently unrewarding part of the MSS paid dividends, for Drummond's notes enabled me to fill in important gaps in our knowledge of the early French theatre. Then I look at Drummond's *Democritie* or *jestbook*, describe his collection of jokes and apophthegms, and notice his liking for such amusements as anagrams and impresas. The sixth chapter adds information gleaned from the MSS on his history, his essays and several unfinished prose pieces. The chapter on Drummond's letters solves some biographical puzzles, and the two on his poetry show first how he wrote, and then, what he wrote.

In all, the thesis is a study of one literary man and his interests, of Drummond himself and the age he lived in. His first enthusiasms were for the romances and the love sonnet, his last preoccupations were with poverty and war; his progress

from the never-never land of the Amadis to the grim warnings of his own History is a melancholy story, a transition from simplicity and idealism to responsibility and finally despair.

CHAPTER I

DRUMMOND'S READING

1606-1609

i

In 1606 Drummond was twenty-one years old. The previous year he had graduated from the Town's College in Edinburgh, where he had been given the usual training in Aristotelian logic and physics; he had now the opportunity and leisure to become a well-read, cultured gentleman. Polish could hardly be acquired at home, and so Drummond following the custom went abroad, first to London and then to France. He visited Paris several times, and studied civil law for two years at Bourges. By the end of 1608 he was back in Scotland, and apart from a short visit to London in 1610 he never left home again.

From the start of his travels in 1606 his preoccupation was self-education, and his commonplace books show how he spent his time. We do not know if he became a competent lawyer at Bourges - he cannot have entirely neglected his Justinian, for he records reading the Institutes in 1607, and he gathered a useful legal library¹ - but his first love was certainly literature. There was of course no school for the aspiring man-of-letters; a gentleman, if he wished to learn languages,

1. See Library.

to write or to become a poet, had to rely on his own talents and on what he could get out of books. Drummond determined to do the job thoroughly, to read everything, to appreciate everything, and to record the crop of his new learning in copious handwritten notes. We can follow his progress for the next nine years in his commonplace books. We can watch his interests spread from French to Italian to Spanish literature, see his first enthusiasms grow or wither, compare his early naivety with his later sophistication. We can, above all, see how his reading served his poetry, and how by 1613 and the last notes in his commonplace books, he was more than ready to put all he had learned to use.

Drummond seems to have begun his note-taking with the intention of compiling a commonplace book in the usual contemporary manner. Such books were fashionable: we know for example that tutors like Richard Holdsworth at Cambridge encouraged their students to form the habit of jotting down moral and instructive passages culled from their reading.¹ Sentences, aphorisms, adages, were all suitable material. A good collection would be useful to both the gentleman and the scholar: a preacher might draw on his book for his sermons, an academic for his orations, a lawyer for his discourses.

1. See his "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," printed in Harris F. Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton (Urbana, 1956, 1961), II, 623-55.

In print a large body of works served this same need, from Erasmus's Adagia to Textor's Officina. For an aspiring writer a commonplace book was indispensable, for it had to serve as a storehouse, not so much of ideas, as of conceits, ornament and classical learning.¹

Drummond called his first commonplace book "EPHEMERIS," and his intentions in the beginning seem to have been in keeping with his title. His early notes in 1606 are closely-written extracts from works like Sidney's Arcadia or Lyly's Euphues and his England; no ideas, but jokes, decorations and classical apophthegms. Knowing Drummond's abilities this may seem disappointing. If he appreciated the finer points of the books he read² - The Courtier, Romeo and Juliet, The Paradise of Daintie Devises - he did not, we might think, take the trouble of setting them down on paper.

In his maturity Drummond developed a fine perception as a reader, so much so that his ability to extract and blend the essences of other men's work was the chief strength of his writing. He became capable of absorbing ideas, conceits and even language from a hundred authors, and forming from them a synthesis that became his own. His productions had a sophistication that few of his contemporaries could match,

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1. A notebook is still probably indispensable to a writer today, but we would expect it to be filled with perceptions, moods, emotions, or ideas.
 2. Again, see his reading lists in the Library.

though being far from the centres of literary society he was often behind the fashion (but not always, as with his devotion for Marino); he was a European in his tastes, not a provincial Scot. In his own mind he saw himself as a follower of Sidney, a gentleman poet and man-of-letters, a disciple of the more cultured Italians, Spaniards and French. He knew them all from his books, from his intelligent and critical reading in the well-stocked shelves of his library. Thus we might have expected more from his first notebooks, for they show little of a critical spirit, and nothing of sophistication.

But to expect more is to misunderstand the nature of commonplace books, and to forget that Drummond at this time was young in years and immature in understanding. Holdsworth told his students to "collect all the remarkable things w^{ch} you meet with in your Hystorians, Oratours, & Poets;" to Drummond in 1606 these for the most part were trivial. It was a problem that Holdsworth recognized, for as he said "when you begin first your studies ... [you] Collect many things uselesse, heterogenous raw, Common, and Childish, w^{ch} in a riper Judgement you would be ashamed vexed to have your Common places filled with"¹ We shall see that Drummond outgrew common and childish things, for within the space of a few years his notebooks become more purposeful and better organised. They divide into two parts, instruction and delight; the one an

1. Fletcher, II, 651.

increasingly serious collection of excerpts from literature, especially poetry, the other a gathering of jokes and amusements, the true "Ephemeris."

We know exactly what Drummond read in the years 1604-1614,¹ for his reading lists are preserved in his first commonplace book. Comparing these lists with his notes, an interesting question comes up: we might wonder whether in fact we have all or only a part of Drummond's commonplace books. The notes for the first year, 1606, cover about a third of the books in the reading list, but the notes for the next year only one or two titles. In 1608 the Amadis de Gaule, some other French works and some Greek books all appear; in all almost half of the titles on the reading list. The proportion is better than this in 1609, with three authors, Sidney, Pasquier and Ronsard represented by copious notes, and several others by less. From 1610 and 1611 - fifty-five books read - we have no notes at all, and from 1612 only the epigrams of John Heath and perhaps the madrigals of Contarini and Coquinato. The next year is once more filled, with Drayton's Poly-Olbion, John Donne's poems and some English madrigals, but the last year, 1614, is again blank. Thus either Drummond was most erratic in his habits, and took copious notes one year and none the next, or some parts of his MSS have been lost.

There are so many notable absentees - works that we know

1. See Library.

Drummond was influenced by in his poetry - that the latter seems more reasonable, especially when one considers the history of the MSS, and the way in which they were neglected. In 1610 Drummond read Sannazaro, Petrarch, Guarino, Tasso, Bembo, and Spenser, not to mention Scaliger's Poetics and Henri Estienne's Apologie pour Herodote. In 1611 he was more ambitious, and read histories, controversies and poems in English, Latin, Italian and French, and added to them several works of theology and ten books of the Bible. Yet we have no notes from either of these years, nothing from Tasso, nothing from Alexander, nothing from Spenser or a crowd of lesser writers, Murray, Lodge or Equicola. We have only two short verses from England's Helicon - and even these may have been taken from elsewhere. It really does seem as though something is missing.

The Inventory,¹ however, shows the variety of what we do have. For English prose, there is Lyly and the Arcadia, for poetry, Daniel, Donne, Astrophil and Stella and the Poetical Rhapsody, for drama, a dozen or more comedies. In French the Amadis, Pasquier's Recherches and Ronsard take up most of the space, followed by Honoré d'Urfé's L'Astrée. In Italian there is a large collection of madrigals. To all these we may add the notes of a less literary nature, mostly in Latin: natural science from Cardano, an account of the New World from Benzoni, table manners from a courtesy book, prophecy from the Sibylline

1. See below.

Oracles. Nor is this all, for interspersed among the extracts from printed books are several items that could only have come from manuscript sources. These are mostly concerned with current events: a letter about the Gunpowder Plot, Bacon's plea to the House of Lords on his downfall, Sir Walter Raleigh's petition, Balmerino's letters of excuse. Lastly, there are the curiosities, a cypher, a rhyme list, a prescription for medicine. The Inventory gives all the details.

The notes are too voluminous for us to be able to describe them all, nor indeed is this necessary, for they consist for the most part of extracts of the works read. In the following pages I will look at a few samples - at Drummond's early reading, at his notes on the Amadis and on Pasquier, on some Greek books, and on Harington's translation of Ariosto - to see Drummond's method, and what he was learning from his reading. Much of my findings is speculative, since Drummond rarely put his thoughts on paper, and one is left guessing why he chose this or that passage and ignored another. His notes are a record of his education in literature, but, as I shall show, they are often more: they are a reflection of the taste of his age. My theme in this chapter is wider than Drummond's own literary development; it is an examination of some of the forgotten enthusiasms of his contemporaries.

In the first prose passage of any length that can be identified Drummond listed "The vounders of Scotland."¹ These he extracted from John Monipennie's Certayne matters concerning Scotland,² whose author had in turn found most of them in Hector Boece's short description of Scotland attached to his Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine,³ which was in print some seventy years before Monipennie came to produce his short and popular little history. The "vounders" are a mixed bag of natural and miraculous peculiarities, the sort that writers of guidebooks delight in.

"In the cuntrie of Stratherne" - in Monipennie's words and Drummond's spelling - "a litil aboue the old tune of the Pights called Abernethie thar is a meruellous rocke of a resonabil begnes that if a man vil pusch it with the lest motioune of his finger it vil moue verie lytlie but iff he vill address his vhol force he profits no thing." "In the tuo Riuers of Dee and Done beside the maruellus plentie of Salmone fisches thar is a schelfisch called the horssmuschel of a great quantetie quherin ar engenderd innumerabil fair beutiful pearls." Besides speaking of healing wells and the white

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1. MS 2059, f. 5r-v. Other references in the text of this chapter are to this volume.
 2. London, 1603; STC 18017-8.
 3. Included only in some editions; for example, the edition of Paris, 1526.

cattle of Cumbernauld "of such a whitnes that thar was neuer amang al the hudge number thar so much as the smallest black spot fund," Monipennie (and Drummond) retell favourite old miracles such as the floating island of Loch Lomond and the odd generation of claick geese. Loch Lomond it seems has no less than thirty isles one of which "is not corroborat to the ground nor vnited but haue been perpetual looss althocht it be fertil of gud greass [grass] it moues on the vater be vaues from tyme toward on poynt transportit sum tymes toward ane vther." And of the geese: "in the north seas of Scotland ar great cloggs of timber fund in the vich ar maruelluslie ingendret a sort of beest called clackgeess thay hing by the beek til thay be of perfectione." But it would be unwise to think of Drummond as alone in his credulousness, for Hector Boece was accepted as an authority by more learned men than either he or Monipennie. The scholar Girolamo Cardano had repeated the information in his De rerum varietate (which Drummond was reading at the time)¹ and even as late as 1635 David Person felt able to discuss the claick goose's habits in his Varieties,² a work for which, incidentally, Drummond wrote two commendatory verses.

We may add one further note to Monipennie's book. When Ben Jonson visited Drummond in 1619 he showed himself curious

1. See Inventory, II, 8.

2. STC 19781.

about things Scottish, and even planned a pastoral or "fisher" play on a Scottish theme.¹ Drummond undertook to supply him with curious information, and sent him as one sample a relation of the ancient oath taken by the knights of Scotland. In his covering letter to Jonson, Drummond says he had this from "Harald [i.e. Herald] Drysdale."² This may be so, but the oath is printed in the Certayne Matters and it is probable that he took it straight from that source, but preferred as a matter of pride to give it a more honorable ancestry.

In making notes on his other non-literary reading in 1606 Drummond collected a variety of information. From John Knox's History of the reformation of religion in Scotland he took down a satirical Latin verse on the death of Francis II of France,³ "husband to our Jezebel" (as the printer put it in the margin), and an anecdote about the bad and bloody dreams of James V of Scotland.⁴ From Girolamo Benzoni's Novae novi orbis historiae he copied passages describing the conquest of Mexico and the New World, and in particular the customs of human sacrifice and cannibalism. Girolamo Cardano's encyclopaedic De rerum varietate he seems to have read thoroughly (and with the help

1. Herford and Simpson, I, 73.

2. Printed in Herford and Simpson, I, 205-6. The oath itself is printed in the Works (1711), p. 138.

3. STC 15071.

4. Drummond used this story in his history. See Works (1711), p. 111.

of Cardano's serviceable index one can trace his course through the whole length of the book). Here again he used little system other than fishing out details that interested him: on the location and habits of the Patagonian giants, on demons and their existence, on the number of stadia in Sparta, on the pyramids, the sphinx, the sepulchres of Achilles and Hannibal, or the opinions of Mercurius Trismegistus on the power of devils (ff. 20r et seq.). The way in which these facts are jumbled up in Drummond's notes is not altogether his doing, for Cardano is often just as disorganized: he trots out lore on any or no excuse, he speculates, he wanders, and often he is so charmed with some supposed fact or other - such as the giants - that he repeats it in another part of the book.

Only once in this first year of his organized reading did Drummond show an interest in academic philosophy. As an encyclopaedia of natural philosophy the De rerum varietate has explanations of Aristotelian physics, and from these Drummond took more detailed notes. Here for a couple of pages he made a systematic synopsis of Cardano's description of both the properties and nature of colours and taste.

In his note-taking on literature in 1606 Drummond had a preference for the trivial commonplace, and though we must presume he was acquiring a taste for the finer points of literature there is no trace of it here. He read that first year a variety of romances, comedies and courtesy books, nearly all in English, as well as one or two popular pieces of

moral and religious instruction. Into his commonplace book went excerpts from Lyly's Euphues and his England, Guazzo's Civile conversation, Castiglione's Courtier and Pius II's Eurialus and Lucretia (all three in translation) and the edifying tract The anathomie of sinne. From the last he copied out a list of moral precepts, from the others he took nothing but jokes and anecdotes. His extracts from the Courtier thus come from the second book, where the discussion is on jesting: Drummond liked the stories of the five nuns got with child, the Dutchman in Rome, and Raphael's answer to the cardinals. About the only other fact he thought worth taking from Castiglione was on the three chief Tuscan writers, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and the description of the behaviour of "them quho ar bitten vith Tarantilla." (This appears in Book I).¹

Drummond does not elaborate on his source; he contents himself with copying it word for word. From Lyly he extracted classical lore - Phidias and his first picture (see "The Epistle Dedicatory"), the river Gallus in Phrygia² - but he ignored the points that these stories were supposed to illustrate. Guazzo he treated as he had treated Castiglione,

1. See The Book of the Courtier ... done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, Tudor Translations (London, 1900).

2. See John Lyly, The Complete Works, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902). Page references to Drummond's excerpts from this and other works are given in the Inventory.

taking down anecdotes for their own sake: the Emperor Domitian kept himself from idleness by trying to kill flies with his dagger, which was better than being idle. The King of France passing a common strumpet in the street showed her no discourtesy, but insisted on behaving to her as though she were a gentlewoman, and this was true breeding. "Alexander seemeth great to the world, but the world seemeth small to Alexander."¹

1. See The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, trans. George Pettie and Barth. Young, Tudor Translations (London, 1925).

Although he could have spent his time in France respectably and profitably without learning a word of French (for the instruction in the law schools was in Latin) Drummond seems to have made up his mind to make the most of his opportunity, and he applied himself so successfully that within three years he was able to progress from the relatively simple language of the Amadis through the more taxing prose of Pasquier to the complications of the poetry of Ronsard. There is in his library a trace of his first steps on the climb, for among the various grammars and dictionaries is one full of his annotations, Robert Estienne's Les mots françois selon lordre des lettres.¹ It was for beginners, or as the title clearly said, "pour les enfans."

Drummond took notes on very few of the French books he read in 1607, presumably because he was still struggling with the language. He did take down nine pages of select phrases and pieces from Tasso's Aminte (the Aminta in translation) and the next year he stayed in the pastoral mood with the prose and verse romance L'enfer d'amour (by the obscure Lyonnois, Jean-Baptiste Du Pont). His notes on this last piece and on the comedies of Pierre de Larivey take up some twenty-nine pages in the MSS, but there is little that needs to be, or indeed can be said about them. They are composed of extracts

1. Library 1037.

from the two books, taken down without any apparent system, perhaps as a way of practising the language. Once or twice Drummond translates a proverb he likes: "know a horse be the sadil," or "quho hath many irons in the fyr part colith." One other comment is worth recording, since it shows how thoroughly Drummond had read his Sidney, and how ready he was was to compare the rest of his reading to his favourite author: he thought that the schoolmaster Lucian in Le laquais was "lyk Sidneys Rhombus" (f. 108r),¹ that is, like the schoolmaster Rhombus in the Lady of May.

In the copious notes on the Amadis de Gaule Sidney appears again and again. Drummond was fond of the Amadis and such like romances, and he had already read part of it (and the Mirror of Knighthood, one of its imitations) in English. I have discussed the popularity of these tales of chivalry elsewhere (see The Library),² but it is important to emphasize here that Drummond was not debasing himself in the eyes of his contemporaries by reading of brave knights, fair maidens and courteous speeches, of all the fantastic marvels, horrid giants, monsters and magicians. The Amadis and its offspring were not approved of by all - indeed they turned the wits of Don Quixote - but they were widely read, and even defended. Sidney

1. This, and subsequent references throughout this chapter refer to leaves in MS 2059.

2. Library

himself wrote "Truly I have knowne men, that even with reading Amadis de gaule, which God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect Poesie, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage."¹

Moreover many an author had found inspiration in the Amadis, from Ariosto, Tasso and Montemaior to Spenser or d'Urfé. In his reading in later years Drummond had the experience to recognize imitation and borrowings: his copies of Alexander's Monarchicke Tragedies or Fairefax's translation of Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloigne have his marginal annotations showing a dozen sources.² In 1608 he was still young and naive, and in his notes on the Amadis he seems to discover Sidney's indebtedness with an air of wonder (he was still, incidentally, writing in Scots):

the 5 capiter of Amadis is follouit by Sydney in his Dido. the crueltie of a voman.

in the 5 capiter first book is a description lik the tour in Sidney

the combat betuix amadis and Abies the king of Ireland in the X cap. first book of Amidis a litil resemblith Sidnes anax[ius] and pyrocles (f. 89v)

lyk vnto phalantus angriote quho defendit his mistress to be farest the first volume 19 cap (f. 90v).

1. The Defence of Poesie, in The complete works, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1923), III, 20.

2. See Library

the 22 cap. of the first tome quher amadis met the chariot conuoyet be the acht knyts vich he killit and beheld the Image of a king is lik that of Sidney quher Musidorus rencuntrit Helen cariing the portrait of Amphialus also in that chapter ther is of the lions let in louse thocht to ane other end then Cecropia

the 23 cap. first book is lik the combat of Mucidorus and Pyrocles for Clitophon. or of Tydens and Telenor quher Amadis and Galor his brother ar at combat (f. 91r)

the 34 cap. of the first book quher Galaor and Amadis var betrayit is not vnlyk to that trahison of Cecropias being both a mad. [maiden] or that sex or quhen Musidorus and Perocles var led to the Quen Andromana (f. 92r)

the combat betuix Galaor and Floresta the 42 cap 1 lib is more lik that of Musidorus and Pyrocles. (f. 93r)

The 13 cap of the second book the combat betuix Amadis and Quedragant quher Amadis pullit of his helme is lik that of Musidorus and Amphialus (f. 95r)

the 8 cap. of the 9 lib quher Alastraxe killit the tuo gyants vald haue deflorit Percille is lyk to Sydnes Anaxius and Srether quhom vith Zelmane held combat (f. 97v)

Arlande hir cuming to Floresta quho beliuit hir to be Siluie is not vnlyk to Basilius and his vyff Ganecea quhen Zelman begylit them 16 cap 9 lib A[madis] (f. 98v)

The prince Manatiles sone Arpilior and Galathea eurilk on beleuing ane vther to be dead 18 cap. 9 lib. is not vnlyk to Cecropias sport in makin them see Artesia hedit.

the complants of Arpilior on the Image of Galatea ar lik thess of Zelmans Pamelas at the death of Philoclea (f. 99r)

the iust of Alastraxire is not vnlyk to that of Phalantus the 27 cap 9 lib. (f. 100r)

In the 39 cap. of the 9 lib. ther Leda is slaine coming in betuix Don Florisel and Garinter vich a litil resemblith Parthenias (f. 100v)

the 47 cap. lib 9 quher Don Florisel is aperelit in the fasion of a voman and takin for Alastraxire is not vnlyk to Zelmane in Sidney

The prisonment of Don Floresel be Arlande is not vnlyk to that Andromana to Pyrocles and Musidorus. 49 cap 9 lib. (f. 101r)

the discours of Honner aganst loue to raison is not vnlyk to Sidnes vers betuix passion and raison 53 cap 9 lib. (f. 101v)

the combat betuix Anaxartes and Floresel quho kepit the tour of the vniueres is not vnlik to Amphialus and Musidorus combat. 56 cap 9 lib. (f. 102r)

Quhen Phalanges was takin loue with the portrait of Alastraxire 59 cap 9 lib. it is not vnlik to Pyrocles quho sau Philocleas in Calanders gardin (f. 102v)

the passion of don Florisel in fallin a sond [swoon] and Helen in vatring his face with her tears is not vnlyk Pyrocles and Philoclea in the chamber. 68 cap. 9 lib. (f. 104v)

the batal on the see betuix Lucidor and Don Florisel is not vnlyk to that of Sidnes quher the mariner vald haue killit them. the 71 cap. 9 lib. (f. 105r)

Quher Drusius entrith betuix the Amadis d'astre and ardan the 17 volume 29 capit. is not vnlyk to Parthenia betuix Argalus and Amphialus.

Sarped on the 31 cap 17 volume on of Sidneys knyts was slain quhom his mistresse rining is Parthenia sauit. [...iring?] Amadis d'astre be the damosel he louit best in the world as sche ther. (f. 106v)

the Duc of Carazze bastard cousin vsurpit the tuns giuen him to keip. 35 cap. 17 vol. aganst the Duc not vnlyk to Sidnes bastard. (f. 106v)

cap. 53 quher the king of liguia ran his sper vnder the arme of Eplandian not hurting him is as Phalantus did to Amphialus. (f. 121v)

The 25 of the 6 quher Gradafilde delyuerth her father from Lysuart is lyk to S Parthenia. (f. 123r)

the 38 cap quher Lisuart and perion facht together is lyk Musidorus and Pyrocles for Calander. the tue black knyht fechting in the 39 cap spekith for ther batal as Musidorus and Amphialus befor they entred.

the 45 cap quher Olorius at the iust carieth the sadel with him is lyk Phalantus and Zelmane.

the 54 cap quher Lisuart culd not enter in the sea but bled
thru ch anger is lyk Zelmane in the prison of Amphialus or
scaffalt (f. 123v)

First impressions of these remarks can only be that they are bald and flat, if not rather juvenile. As far as they go, they are accurate, but they do not go very far. Sidney did undoubtedly borrow from the Amadis, but this was news to no-one, especially in Drummond's day, when the situations and clichés of the knightly tales were as well known to most readers as those of the Western are to us. Yet these remarks have the air of a personal discovery, and should serve to remind us that Drummond was still an immature and unsophisticated reader.

Four other comments scattered throughout the Amadis notes (which strictly speaking would be better described as extracts from the text) show Drummond in another light, the Calvinist youth fresh from the seminary teaching of a college set up in the Genevan spirit, marking the idolatries of the Catholic Church.

the 20 chapiter quher vrgande com with the candilles burning to releaue Amadis from the enchantment is follout be the papists

the 25 the knyht dead that had the cortsois [courtoise] abut him aprouith the papists honoring the dead. (f. 91r)

the tempel that Falanges buldit to Alastraxire quher al the candil ar resemblith gretlie the papists befor her image 24 great tortches 59 cap. 9 lib. (f. 102v)

the 41 cap. 5 lib. Amad. quher Melie had the virgin vax candils in her caue conforme to the papist. (f. 121v)

Some other comments are less ingenuous, if more cryptic. On f. 101v he notes "quher Medea Helen hector ar brocht in in the 53 cap. 9 lib. is not vnlik to ausonius in his Elysean filds." Ausonius did not write an Elysian fields, though the device itself of bringing back famous persons from the dead to explain their actions or adjudicate the present had classical and contemporary precedent; Aristophanes in The Frogs, for example, or Marlowe in Dr. Faustus.¹ In a passage mentioning mosaics, Drummond has a little note on the etymology of the word (f. 103r): mosaics, he says (erroneously), were so-called "becaus Moises fand it first." Later, he remarks that "the 63 cap of the 17 vol. continith a excellent disput abut Mahomet ..." (f. 107r), and here it is worth noticing that this "excellent disput" - which proves triumphantly that the Christian religion is superior - is a small indication of the contemporary interest taken in the heretic. Drummond went on to read more on the Arabs that same year (see the discussion below on Euthymius).

This is the extent of Drummond's interpolations on the Amadis: three miscellaneous comments, an interest in papist candles, and a mass of comparisons to Sidney's Arcadia. The bulk of the manuscripts are taken up with extracts from the text

1. In Drummond's The Entertainment Mercury appears with "an hundred and seven Scottish Kings, which hee had brought back from the Elisian fields ..." Kastner, II, 123.

of the Amadis itself, and here it is possible to see where Drummond's taste lay. He more or less ignores scenes of combat, of jousts and tourneys, or fights with giants, and goes instead to speeches of love and honour, or confessions, renunciations and desperate promises. We can take two passages as typical. On f. 90r he notes Amadis' speech to his mistress Oriana's ring:

Anneau, qui as esté si heureux d'estre porté, & tenu
cher de la plus accomplie creature du monde, bien
que tu sois maintenant en moins honorable lieu que
tu n'estois parauant, si n'as-tu point changé de
maistre: car moy & toy sommes à elle, & m'estraains
le cœur avecques plus grande force, que tu ne luy
estraignois le doigt.¹

(Drummond habitually writes accents the wrong way, and in this passage he carelessly omits the negative from the last line, and spells "le doigt" "less doigt.")

At more length he copies out Amadis' seduction of Oriana, a grand romantic set-piece beginning "Ainsi demeura Amadis seul avec sa Dame, tant plein de grand ayse"² The passage is appealing: Amadis is the perfect knight, Oriana the most beautiful maiden, and wandering through the woods, the pair are conveniently left alone in a meadow by their companions. The situation is one in which the writers of the Amadis often find their protagonists, and it has certain inherent contradictions

1. Le premier livre d'Amadis de Gaule, mis en Francoys par le Seigneur des Essars, Nicolas de Herberay (Lyon, 1575), p. 285.

2. Ibid., pp. 631 et seq.

which they never fail to solve gracefully. The heroines of chivalric romances are of course chaste, yet the convention demands the occasional seduction: they must succumb gracefully and remain pure. They yield only to love; love sanctifies their union (and the Church afterwards acknowledges its blessedness). Amadis here is overcome with passion, and since it is honourable passion, he cannot be faulted. Oriana must resist in defence of her chastity, but she too is a slave to love, which at heart she feels is too powerful to be denied. The difficulty is resolved, her behaviour is admirable: she is praised for the delicacy with which she resists enough to honour her virtue, but not enough to put off Amadis. In an excess of goodness, she conceals her own pleasure in the love-making "auecques vne delicate & feminine plainte de l'audace d'Amadis"

Interspersed between the notes on the various books of the Amadis are notes on other books, as well as several pages of what are probably original exercises in writing French (ff. 135r et seq.). It is impossible to be precise about these, for there is no way of knowing all the books Drummond had access to at this time, and even if we did know some would no longer be extant. Most of these unidentified sections or "exercises" are proverbs, and one of the longer passages is titled "Essaye des prouerbes Francois." This is divided into short sections under letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, and so on, ending at S. The sections are made up of a jumble of words, phrases and

sentences, in no sequence or order, unrelated to each other. They could be described as proverbial jottings. They do not appear to have been gathered from the best-known collection of French proverbs, that in the body of Henri Estienne's De la précellence du langage François.¹ Drummond may have collected them from his fellow students.

This difficulty of identification throughout the MSS is complicated not only by the disappearance of books, and Drummond's habit of not labelling his extracts, but also by the wide range of his reading. His reading lists for each year are some help, but they are far from complete: he records reading six English comedies in 1609, for instance, but he has notes on eleven. Nor is language an infallible guide, for in books like Simion Grahame's Anatomie of humors he would find abundance of Italian or Spanish saws. One of these, "Donna m'a fatto et donna m'a disfatto," he likes so much he copies out several times (see f. 64r, f. 144v). Sometimes he extracts half the book, sometimes only one phrase: the only hint that he read the Seigneur Des Accords' Les bigarrures is his note on the facetious rendering of S.P.Q.R. - "Sancte Pater Quare Rides" (f. 122r).² Still other books in the reading lists are passed over without comment, even when they would appear to be

1. Library 1036.

2. In the edition of Paris, 1608, this and similar amusements appear on f. 160v.

tailor-made for Drummond's current taste. (Such a one is Scipion Du Pleix's La curiosité naturelle, a catechism of natural problems, complete with chatty solutions, on every subject under the sun from "amour" to "vrine." Is it possible to love someone we have never seen? We can love the ideal or idea of someone, but this love is an illusion. Why are women less subject to the retention of urine than men? Because they have "les conduits vretaires plus amples.")¹

Of all the French books Drummond read in the three years 1607, 1608 and 1609, none taught him so much as Estienne Pasquier's Les Recherches de la France. He read it in 1609, and he took copious notes on it. He must by this time have been able to read French fluently; he had left the Amadis behind, he had read some history, some polemics, and Pasquier's own letters. He had begun to read French poetry - Pontus de Tyard, Jean Passerat and the Seigneur Des Accords - but he had not yet attempted the heights of the Pléiade. He could hardly have found a better guide for his education in French literature than Pasquier, yet even before he opened the Recherches he was aware of the bounty which lay ahead.

In 1608 he worked through a poor relation of the Recherches: Francois Des Riues' Les antiquitez des France (the work is now exceedingly rare, and there is little reason to

1. La curiosité naturelle redigee en questions selon l'ordre alphabetique (Paris, 1626), pp. 9, 287. This of course was not the edition that Drummond used.

believe that it ever rivalled Pasquier in popularity).

Judging by his notes Les antiquitez covered much the same ground as the Recherches: historical, geographical, local and literary information, presented in a familiar style and spiced with anecdote. From it Drummond took his usual mixture of miscellaneous lore (f. 124v et seq.). He records that the Sorbonne was founded by "maistre Robert de Sorbonne," and that the "bons of S. Denis var 140 yeir quher no man kneu of them." He has notes on the establishment of the religious orders, the Society of Jesus and the Capuchins, and on the arms of Paris. A "quatrain" is "four lins" and a "sixain" "sex". (He was evidently still a beginner in the science of prosody.) Drummond's thoughts were turning to literature, and he has too from Des Riues the birthplaces of Ronsard, Belleau, Jean de Meun and Jacques Amyot.

All that remains in Drummond's library of the Recherches de la France is a small pocket size edition of Books I and II.¹ The complete work contained ten books and three essays or pourparlers, and Drummond seems to have read the whole from cover to cover. He began with Pasquier's discussion of social and political order in Book II, where Pasquier describes with much attention to etymology the feudal origins of French and European government. Drummond has notes on dukes, on the

1. Library 1125.

orders of chivalry, on the Salic law.¹ He takes down the distinction that "l'empereur est fait par force, le roy par nativite." He goes on with Pasquier to Church history; he records the origin of the title "pope", his authority (Pasquier believed that the pope's power should be strictly limited in sovereign states like France),² the history of the monastic orders and the Knights Templar.³ "Pasquier" (Drummond writes) "approuue l'histoire de la papesse Ieane. lib. 3 cap. 5."⁴ (The career of the mythical Pope Joan was a controversial scandal of the Reformation, and Protestants were always ready to receive favourable opinions on her case.)

As one might expect, Drummond saved most of his space for information from the seventh and eighth books, for these have Pasquier's discussion of French literature. Pasquier's treatment of the subject is detailed and thorough, and his intimacy with many of the chief poets and writers gives his remarks authority and immediacy. His style is plain-spoken and straightforward, familiar yet dignified. His interest in the history of his language and literature is matched by his knowledge. Drummond might have searched long for a better teacher.

1. In the edition of Paris, 1643, these subjects appear between pp. 128-139.

2. Ibid., pp. 156-7.

3. Ibid., pp. 229 et seq.

4. This seems to have been censored from the later editions.

Significantly Drummond ignored Pasquier's early history of French poetry (in Book VII), and started instead five chapters on with Pasquier's pronouncement that "Le premier qui à bonnes enseignes donna vogue à nostre Poesie, fut Maistre Iean de Maire de Belges"¹ He then takes down a list of the best French poets, arranged chronologically, with their major works - Clement Marot's Psalms, Heröet's Parfaite amie, Beze's Le sacrifice d'Abraham. Plays are included - Jodelle's Cleopatra and the tragedies of Garnier - as are a few prose writers such as Rabelais or Margaret of Navarre. Of this long list, and of all the other writers mentioned elsewhere by Pasquier, very few indeed do not end up being included either on Drummond's reading lists or in his library. He must have used Pasquier almost as a catalogue.

Drummond follows Pasquier faithfully through his history of French verse, and records his opinions on the pastoral form and its Italian origins in modern literature, and on Belleau's Bergerie. He proceeds to Du Bartas and his Sepmaines, and the Seigneur de Pibrac's Quadrains. (He bought all three.) He goes on then to Ronsard. Ronsard was, in Pasquier's opinion, the greatest of all the French poets, the one who almost alone had raised French poetry from a rude obscurity to a place of honour hardly second to that of the ancients. "Le grand Ronsard," Pasquier called him: "Il a en nostre langue

1. Pasquier, p. 612. Drummond bought his poems. See Library 1085.

représenté vns Homere, Pindare, Theocrite, Virgile, Catulle, Horace, Petrarque, & par mesme moyen diuersifié son style en autant de manieres qu'il luy a pleu, ores d'un ton haut, ores moyen, ores bas. Chacun luy donne la grauité, & a du Bellay la douceur."¹ Drummond took this judgement to heart, for he immediately read almost all that Ronsard had written: the Amours, the Hymnes, the Odes, the Elegies and Eclogues, and even the Franciade.

He copied out huge amounts from these works in his MSS (see the Inventory), read through and marked his extracts in later years, and translated or adapted many of the poems. Nor - to recall Pasquier's dictum - was he neglecting Du Bellay, for in 1608 he bought a second-hand copy of the Jeux Rustiques.²

Pasquier was thus Drummond's introduction to the Pléiade. Both the Lettres and the Recherches told him who to read and what to think about them, and there is plenty of evidence not only in his MSS but in his printed books also that he took his directions seriously.³ Pasquier describes the controversies over French grammar that had taken place around the 1550's between Louis Meigret and Jacques Peletier and others; Drummond hunted up copies of the tracts and added them to his library. In the Lettres he would have read Pasquier's opinions on the

1. Ibid., p. 622.

2. Library 1018.

3. See the catalogue of his French books in The Library.

Ramus/Turnebe quarrels (again of the 1550's) over Ramus's treatment of Cicero; brought up on Ramist principles in the philosophy courses at Edinburgh, he was interested, and again, he found, bought and added these controversies to his collection. Amongst his law books too we might detect Pasquier's guiding hand, although the illustrious names of Cujas, Brisson or Hotman would be certainly held in as much favour at the law school of Bourges. This influence of the Recherches (and to a lesser extent, the Lettres) on Drummond's choice of books can only be speculative, yet the generous space given over to Pasquier in the MSS is plain evidence that Drummond was sure he was mining a rich vein.

Besides learning of French writers and what they had written, Drummond was interested in Pasquier's discussion of the French language; in its grammar, its technical terms, and its usage. On f. 144r (see Inventory) he has some notes on onomatopoeia from Chapter 6 of Book VIII of the Recherches, where Pasquier discusses the device with numerous examples from the classics, from the Amadis and from everyday speech.¹ "Le trot, et le trotter des cheveaux," writes Pasquier, "tel est le cliquetis des armes, tel le Craquetis, ou Claquetis de nos dents, quand nous tremblons de froid." Elsewhere Pasquier (and Drummond) make excursions into etymology (f. 201r), noting the origins of "mareschal" and "bigot."² Pasquier illustrates

1. Pasquier, p. 693.

2. Ibid., p. 679.

a point from Ariosto; Drummond copies out the couplet.¹ He had read Orlando Furioso in English and in French, and it will not be long before he wishes to tackle it in the original. Twice he takes down a couplet that Pasquier introduces to illustrate the device of vers rapporté written by Estienne Jodelle (of the Pléiade) on the poems of Olivier de Magny:

Phoebus, Amour, Cypris, veut sauver, nourrir et orner,²
Ton vers, cœur et chefs d'ombre, de flamme, de fleurs.

As "A Couplet encomiasticke" Drummond translates these lines, and includes them in his madrigals in the Poems (1616).³

1. Ibid., p. 692.

2. Ibid., p. 666.

3. Kastner, II, 121. Kastner in his notes misquotes the French lines. Drummond also translated two sonnets he found in Pasquier, both in the Italian original and in French. See Pasquier, pp. 630-33, and Kastner, II, 231-4.

A section of fifty pages in the first commonplace book contains notes on five Greek works (ff. 156r-181v), all of which are now forgotten or disregarded: the Sibylline Oracles, Nilus' De primatu Papae, Euthymius' De Saracenorum, Constantine VII's De Thematibus and Athenaeus' Deipnosophistarum. The last is the most familiar of the five (and the only one honoured by a Loeb translation); all were thought important and interesting reading at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the following pages I wish to explain why this was so, and why Drummond considered it worth his while to devote so much space to these works in his MSS.

The editions Drummond read were similar in one respect, for they all contained a Latin translation. Whatever his facility in Greek - it is impossible to tell from his notes, although we may say that he transcribes fluently in a good hand - he needed here only to read Latin, and wherever he comments, naturally his notes are in Latin. But he does claim in his reading list for 1608 to have read the "Oracula Sybillae, en Grec."¹

The Sibylline Oracles had a mixed parentage; coming first from Greece, they were revered by the Romans, augmented by the Jews, and thought to be divinely inspired by the early Christians. The editio princeps was printed by Betuleius in 1545, and the

1. See Library

edition that Drummond probably used by Opsopoeus in 1599. Their importance for the Renaissance was that they were seen as valid prophetical pieces of undoubted antiquity; if not divinely inspired, at least sanctioned by the homage paid to them by the Fathers of the Church. For a Protestant they were especially valuable, for read "correctly," they foretold the overthrow of the papacy. Thus they were useful additions to the Scriptural books of prophecy, the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John.

Drummond was certainly familiar with the current Protestant interpretation of the Oracles: he knew John Napier's Plaine discovery of the Revelation,¹ and had in fact bought and read a French translation of it in 1608. Napier in a postscript to his Plaine discovery - which plainly discovered that the Pope was the second part of the Antichrist, Mahomet being universally acknowledged as the first - backed up his case with apposite quotations from the Oracles, which he described as neither so authentic that they could be cited with the Scriptures nor profane enough to be omitted, but having "famous antiquitie, approued veritie, and harmonically consentment therof with the scriptures of God, and specially with the 18 Chapter of this holy Revelation."² His extracts from the

1. He read it and took notes on it in 1606; see above.

2. A plaine discovery of the whole Reuelation of Saint John (Edinburgh, 1593), f. T1r. STC 18354.

Oracles were translated into doggerel verse.

It is possibly coincidental that Napier's extracts were also quoted by Drummond, for the crucial apocalyptic passages would be common knowledge, and if a scholar were in any doubt, the annotations to his Latin translation would point him in the right direction. Drummond's first quotation is from Book VII, ll. 108-113: a prophecy of the fall of Rome. Napier quotes this passage too. For the next nineteen pages of his MSS Drummond copies out lines from the Greek text, adding either the Latin translation or a brief explanation of the meaning of the prophecy in Latin. In most cases his extracts have a religious, that is, a Protestant significance. They are chiefly from the fifth book (which had the most "harmonically consentment therof with the scriptures of God"), and they do not always follow the normal order of the verses. Here is a partial list of these extracts.

Lib. V, ll. 47-8: lines describing the reign of Hadrian.
(f. 156r)

Lib. V, ll. 142-4: of Nero. (f. 156v)

Lib. V, ll. 149-60: of Nero's return. (f. 156v)

Lib. V, ll. 353-7: a warning to follow the law of wisdom
and the glory of the righteous, lest
God in his wrath destroy every kind
and tribe of living men. (f. 157r)

Lib. V, ll. 385-94: a description of the abominations
committed by men before the day of
the apocalypse. (f. 157v)

Lib. V, ll. 341-52: a warning of the coming apocalypse.

Lib. V, 11. 433-45: an oracle on Babylon.

Lib. III, 11. 63-74: on the miracles and doom attending
the return of the Antichrist. (f. 159v)

The Sibylline Oracles - as is the nature of oracles - were capable of a variety of interpretations, and could be made to forecast with remarkable clarity just what was expected, provided the reader allowed himself to draw up his own set of rules. The Protestants devoutly desired the downfall of the Church of Rome: the Oracles seemed to foretell its doom in their direct prophecies. To interpret these lines correctly the Protestant reader had first to believe in the general truth and authenticity of the Oracles, and to accept their apparent obscurity, their ability to say one thing and mean another. He had to be willing to apply all apocalyptic prophecies, whether they mentioned Rome or Babylon, sinners or all mankind, to the papacy itself. Speaking of the abominations committed prior to the day of judgement - sodomy, rape, incest and buggery - Napier confidently ascribed them to contemporary Rome, quoting the words of the Sibyll in the following doggerel:

Stay and restraine ye mother murtherers,
Your hands and hearts, O filthie furtherers
To bougrie, like beasts abusing boyes,
Who women chaste with villanie annoyes:
And maketh whores by your persuasion,
Ouercomd by subtill solistation:
In thee the Sonne doth with his mother mell,
The daughter wife doth with her Father dwell,
And Kings their mouthes polluted hath in thee,
In thee is found with beasts bougerie:
Sit dolorous down deplore thy paine with pitie,¹
Thou lecherous seat suppress, and sinfull citie.

1. Ibid., f. T2r-v.

(A free and rather embroidered translation, but Napier did after all have to find his rhymes.) In a footnote attached to the word "bougrie" in the third line, Napier drives home the point to his readers: "Who could more viuely [sic] describe by present history, the filthy vices of Rome, than here the Sibylla doeth by her maruelous prophecie, for prooffe whereof, reade their owne histories."¹

This is the climate of opinion and level of intellectual sophistication in which works like the Sibylline Oracles must be judged. There was little tolerance and no moderation amongst the controversialists; in the name of the true religion even the most unlikely conjectures could be entertained. Drummond copied out the prophecies about Nero and his return not because he was especially interested in Nero the Roman Emperor, but because in Protestant mythology Nero had become identified with the papacy. In the Sibylline Oracles the prophecies on Nero refer to the curious belief that Nero had escaped the destruction of Rome, and would return to scourge the world for its misdeeds when the time was ripe. (As with our current nightmare of Hitler, Nero was alive and well and living in Argentina, in this case the Middle East.) Nero was identified with the Antichrist in the oracles, and it was thus a short step to equate him with the Vicar of Christ, whose abominations for fifteen hundred years had been very much in the Nero spirit.

1. Ibid., f. T2v.

Such was the Protestant theory, and indeed it fitted in neatly with the prophecies of the Book of Daniel, which spoke of the four monarchies of the earth.¹ Imperial Rome had always been considered the fourth of these, and in the convenient organization much favoured by the historiographers of the Middle Ages, the Church of Rome was its natural heir. The fifth monarchy, and with it, the Day of Judgement, was as yet in the future. Protestant readers of the entrails were able to improve upon the traditional design, have the pope as Nero's heir, inheriting his character and more offensive vices, and proclaim both (or two in one) as the very pattern of an Antichrist. The Book of Revelation too dove-tailed most precisely into place, enlarging the allegory with such figures as the Whore of Babylon. Babylon was Rome, new Rome was old Rome - it might all seem at first somewhat loose, but once one believed in the papal conspiracy, it fitted in quite well. The evidence was in the Scriptures, and it works like the Sibylline Oracles which had "harmonicall consentment therof."

It is important to add that these theories were not confined to scholars in their studies, but were given the widest currency, so that they were certainly known by that mythical character, the man in the street. In Dekker's Whore of Babylon the stock villains of the papist conspiracy were wheeled out for popular view, jesuits, regicides, and the arch-traitor Campeius

1. See Library

(Edmund Campion). The Drammatis personae tells us bluntly the commander of all is "Th'Empresse of Babylon: vnder whom is figured Rome". The preface to the reader lets us know of "the inueterate malice, Treasons, Machinations, Vnderminings, and continual bloody stratagems, of that Purple whore of Roome"¹ And for the benefit of the audience the Empress herself confesses

Our royall signet,
With which, we, (in a mothers holy loue)
Haue sign'd so many pardons, is now counterfeit:
From our mouth flow riuers of blasphemy
And lies; our Babylonian Sinagogues
Are counted Stewes, where Fornications
And all vncleannesse Sodomiticall,
(Whose leprosy touch'd vs neuer) are now daily acted:
Our Image, which (like Romane Caesars) stamp'd
In gold, through the whole earth did currant passe;
Is now blanch'd copper, or but guilded brasse.²

Prophecies dealt with the grand design, but there was still need for small-arms. Catholics could occasionally be humbled, or at least embarrassed, by the judicious revival of an old quarrel, especially if it came from the early days of the Church, when the faith was pristine pure. This accounts for the otherwise unnotable little treatise De primatu Papae in Drummond's reading list for 1608. Written in Greek by one Nilus, Metropolitan Archbishop of Thessalon, it contained a declaration of the pope's usurped primacy. There is no reason to suppose that this piece would have been thought worth reading, let alone printing, a thousand years after the disputes

1. Thomas Dekker, The Dramatic Works, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1955), II, 496-7.

2. Ibid., II, 502.

it referred to, had it not been considered a useful piece in the propaganda wars of the Reformation. As it was, Protestant printers produced and sold it - and it was even translated for an English edition by Thomas Gressop in 1560.¹ On the other side, the Catholic establishment defended their position by bringing out a version with an elaborate confutation written by Joannes Matthaeus Caryophilus,² in which the rebuttal is twice as long as the declaration itself.

On the De Saracenorum, the third Greek work in this section of his MSS, Drummond made no notes at all in Greek, so he may have contented himself with reading the Latin translation. The author Euthymius was a Byzantine theologian of the early twelfth century, who was commissioned to write various tracts against the heretics in the defence of his church. This particular piece is a biased and not too accurate account of the origins and practices of the Mohammedan religion. It is written more or less as a piece of propaganda, for at every opportunity Mohammedanism is contrasted with Christianity, needless to say, unfavourably.

In an age which saw the Turks at the gates of Vienna, and in which the battle of Lepanto was still celebrated (by James VI,

1. Under the title A briefe treatise, conteynynge a playne declaration of the Popes usurped Primacye (London, 1560). See BM catalogue. Not in STC?

2. J. M. Caryophilus, Confutio Nili thessalonicensis de primatue papae ... (Paris, 1626) and other editions. See BN catalogue.

among others), there was much interest in Europe in the history of Islam. Drummond himself had at least two books on the subject (besides Euthymius which he may not have actually owned): Paolo Giovio's Commentario dele cose de Turchi and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq's De re militari aduersus Turcas instituenda consilium. Among these Euthymius was considered an authority, having at least something of "famous antiquity." His work was at the same time a reassuring polemic against the heretic.

Drummond begins his notes on Euthymius a little way into the book, on the eighth point in the discussion of the Mohammedan religion, where Mohammedan worship of the holy places, and in particular the holy stones, is compared to the Christian reverence for the cross. He seems to follow his usual habit of copying out any odd item which took his fancy, without much in the way of system. He is interested in the Mohammedan use of the Old Testament, and in the additional lore attached to Biblical figures; he extracts the sentence "Dicit enim Mariam sororem Mosis & Aaronis, iuxta palmam peperisse Christum ..." from the Latin translation and commentary by Jacob Beurer.¹ He notes the four rivers of paradise, the portents of the death of Mahomet, and so on. Perhaps unfairly, his notes here again give the impression of an uncritical and rather naive mind.

1. The edition that Drummond almost certainly used was that edited by F. Sylburgius. See F. Sylburgius, Saracenica, siue Moamethica . . . (Heidelberg, 1595), p. 28.

(Unfairly, because some of these qualities may be Euthymius': the De Saracenorum is full of miscellaneous information.)

Drummond ends his notes on Euthymius by taking from Beurer's synopsis a list of the principal dates in Arab history, with a record of the crusades and the reigns of the Turkish sultans. He also takes down (as Beurer quoted it) a list of the chief authorities on the Arabs, as given in Jean Bodin's Methodus.¹

Next in the MSS follow three pages of extracts from the De Thematibus of Constantine VII, the Byzantine emperor "born to the purple." Gibbon compared Constantine's writings to a ray of historic light beaming from the darkness of the tenth century, but on examining them professed himself disappointed;² they were however grist to the Renaissance mill. The De Thematibus is a description of the eastern empire as it was at the time (the title coming from the "themes" or provinces of the empire), and Constantine decorated his account with literary and historical references. There was in the Renaissance such a thirst for classical information from whatever source that any work offering it in whatever way was held in regard. And "classical" was interpreted in the broadest sense. Drummond's notes give a few hints how the De Thematibus would be used by

1. Ibid., p. 110.

2. Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1898), VI, 62 et seq.



the well-read Renaissance gentleman: it would be plundered for its trimmings. Drummond extracts Constantine's lore, here an epigram, there a note on where Isocrates wrote his orations.

As a source of literary information the De Thematibus did not have too much to offer, particularly when compared with Athenaeus' Deipnosophistarum. The Renaissance liking for chat and gossip of and about the ancients ensured that books like Aulus Gellius' Noctes Atticae or its contemporary imitation Alexander ab Alexandro's Genialium dierum libri were popular, and in the matter of classical trivia the Deipnosophistarum was as rich as any.

"The Sophists at dinner" is set in the form of a conversation principally about food and drink between a group of friends over and after their meal. As in Castiglione's Courtier, which employs the same device, the friends are all historical figures, and their talk is diffuse, didactic, facetious, poetical or salacious, according to the mood and disposition of the speaker. Athenaeus uses the freedom of this convention to insert all manner of facts; his work has been called the oldest surviving cookbook (it dates to the beginning of the third century); it is this only in the sense that it gives endless information on food and where to find it, at the same time providing a rag-bag assortment of details on customs, grammar, sex, literature and lore of every kind. For a reader like Drummond the pickings in a work like this were plentiful.

He takes from the Deipnosophistarum sixteen pages of notes, mostly in Latin, with a few verses of the Greek transcribed. He takes the facetious story of how Philoxenus came to write his Cyclops (I, 29),¹ and records Chamaeleon's gossip that Aeschylus wrote his tragedies when he was drunk (I, 97). He likes the Greek verse giving the catalogue of Antiphanes:

From Elis comes the cook; from Argos the cauldron,
from Phlius wine, from Corinth bedspreads; fish from
Sicyon, flute-girls from Aegion, cheese from Sicily
... perfumes from Athens, eels from Boeotia (I, 119).

Occasionally he quotes a line or two, one would guess, for its beauty: πετρας και πολιας θαλασσας τεκνον ("Child of the rocks and of the hoary sea" - the subject is limpets, the poet Alcaeus (I, 368-9)). Elsewhere his choice is in line with his taste for classical small-talk. "Callimachus the grammarian used to say that a big book is a nuisance" he notes (in Latin) (I, 315). Using his translation he pulls out the tag "pro patria mori" and records the Greek equivalent, υπερ πατρας (I, 432-3). He quotes trivia: on Egyptian beans and their growing in the swamps near the river Thyamis, on the etymology of the word sycophant (from the fig-detectives who informed on the fig thieves), on the use of the epithet, as when Simonides the poet called Zeus Aristarchus (noblest ruler) and Aeschylus named Hades "lord of the folk." One is forced to conclude that the Renaissance thirst for classical lore was very hard to slake.

1. This and the following references are to the Loeb translation by C. B. Gulick (London, 1930).

We may end this investigation of the beginnings of Drummond's literary education with a short description of his notes on Harington's Ariosto. At the end of 1608 Drummond left France for Scotland, and his homecoming marks his return to English literature. In his reading list for 1609 are several comedies, some epigrams, Davison's Poetical Rhapsody, Daniel's Works, George Peele's Hunting of Cupid and Simion Grahame's Anatomy of humours.¹ He re-read most thoroughly Sidney's Arcadia, and worked his way through two long translations, Fairefax's Tasso and Harington's Ariosto. It was a busy year, for he had spent much time too on French literature, reading Pasquier, Ronsard, Du Bartas, Jodelle and Rabelais.

Drummond made notes on about half the books he read, and on Harington and Sidney he indulged himself with copious extracts (the notes on the Arcadia are described in the next chapter). It is not hard to see why he found Harington congenial, for the Orlando Furioso was both entertaining and informative, a source of present delight, and a guide to future pleasures. Pasquier's Recherches served Drummond as a handbook to French literature; the Orlando was to do the same for English.

Sir John Harington translated the ribald twenty-eighth canto of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso for the private joy of the Queen's

1. See Library

maids of honour, and was commanded by Elizabeth as punishment to translate the whole book. In his An Apologie for his work The Metamorphosis of Ajax he speaks of this penance laid upon him "by that saint, nay rather goddess, whose service I am only devoted unto."¹ Since the work was for the court, Harington thought fit not only to delight his audience with his smooth verse, but also, particularly for the less lettered ladies, to ease its passage with detailed explanation of all its meaning. Thus in addition to writing a life of Ariosto and a short essay on allegory he attached "An apologie of poetry" and concluded every book with an elaborate discussion of its significance. The "apologie" is a readable paraphrase of Sidney's Defence of poesie, and has little original in it; the annotations to the verse are much more interesting.

They are set out in formal order, divided under four heads, the moral, the history, the allegory and the allusion. By the first Harington means the moral lesson illustrated by each particular book, the vice castigated or the virtue praised. Thus in Book 10 we may note, he tells us, an example of ingratitude in Byreno.² Under the head of history Harington discusses how far the Orlando Furioso accords with historical fact, and where the author has surrendered to fantasy. His

1. The Metamorphosis of Ajax, ed. Elizabeth S. Donno (London, 1962), p. 256.

2. Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, trans. Sir John Harington (London, 1607), p. 80. STC 746.

remarks are informal, even chatty: speaking of Ariosto's reference to the purgatory of St. Patrick, he says that when he was over in Ireland he neither saw nor heard of St. Patrick's purgatory, and concludes that it is mere invention.¹ Under allegory he detects the hidden allegorical meanings of each character - the four ladies sent to Rogero in Book 10 are the four cardinal virtues - and under allusion he seeks out classical borrowings and references. When Angelica is tied to the rock and at the mercy of a monster the allusion is to Andromeda as described by Ovid.² (The discoveries of classical echoes are of course done in no derogatory way, for this kind of imitation was considered highly commendable.)

These annotations of Harington's are individualistic, knowledgeable and witty, and judging from his notes they appealed to Drummond almost as much as the poem itself. They offered rich pickings for his collection of "Ephemeris," for Harington slips in anecdotes, jokes and verses at the least excuse, and by the time Book 50 has been reached any reader will have enlarged his education in the most painless way possible.

Drummond began his gleaning from "The life of Ariosto," before going on to the "Apologie" and the notes themselves. He liked the stories of Don Francisco of Este rehearsing as the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

prologue from Ariosto in public, out of admiration, and of Ariosto's saying "De puppe nouissimus exi" as he boarded ship, being afraid of water.¹ When Ariosto heard a potter sing (and mar) his verses, he stopped and broke his pots, saying that one ill turn deserved another.² When he was asked why he did not build a grander house, he replied (as Drummond had it), that "vords var schaper [cheaper] laid togidder then stons."³

Anecdotes like these were interesting, but in his annotations to the text Harington offered more. He had gathered his life of Ariosto he said from the Italians; in his own commentary he could free himself from such necessary restrictions and offer his readers the wealth of his experience and position: a man of letters in the society of Queen and courtiers, a follower of Sidney, a friend of Dyer and Spenser, a man of taste at the fountainhead of taste. To an outsider like Drummond here was a teacher indeed. When Harington spoke of the verse that Elizabeth had scratched in the glass of a window at Woodstock after asking if the scaffold of Lady Jane Gray was still standing:

Much suspected by me⁴
Nothing proued can be

1. Ibid., pp. 420-21.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 421.

4. Ibid., p. 393.

a reader might be sure that if the story were not true, then at least it was official, and was perpetuated by royal consent. Harington could refer to Alciat and his Duello, Doctor Caynes' treatise on dogs, Cicero or Herodotus, and not add anything to a man's knowledge beyond the mutual flattery of a common culture, yet when he quoted Dyer or Spenser he was sharing literary gossip, and sharing it with authority. His notes are those of a raconteur who knows everybody. He discusses Captain John Smith's attempts to prove the longbow superior to the musket, or a verse of Sidney's left out of the printed text, each with equal assurance. Speaking of traitors he describes the case of "Rorie Oge (a notable rebell of Ireland)" from his own campaign experience.

He that hath plast his heart on hie,
Must not lament although he die.¹

he quotes from "Maister Edward Dier" to illustrate one point, and to embroider another he repeats "M. Spencers tale of the squire of Dames."² (This latter Drummond took down in full, for he had not yet read the "excellent Poem of the Faery Queene.")

Drummond's notes show his increasing interest both in poetry and in things Italian. He still picked up the odd item of Scottish interest (he has James VI's Latin verse on Sidney, although he ignores Harington's translation)³ but he is intent on

1. Ibid., p. 126.

2. Ibid., p. 373.

3. This verse is printed in James Craigie's edition of The Poems of James VI. of Scotland, STS (Edinburgh, 1958), II, 162. Craigie is unaware of Harington's translation, although he mentions a late seventeenth-century printing of it. Ibid., II, 249.

widening his range of knowledge. Wherever he can he copies down details on the English poets, but at the same time he is easing into Italian, taking down saws and jests as often as they come, along with the translations thoughtfully provided by Harington.

Scampato il pericolo giabbato il santo - when daunger
is scaped, the saint is mocked.

Dio mi guarda Da medico rognoso
 Da alchumista stracciato
 Da monacho ingrossato¹

Against the second extract Drummond marks only the key words "manged," "ragged," and "corpulent."

1. Harington, p. 349.

In the previous pages I have looked at a sample of Drummond's notes made on his reading during the years 1606 to 1609. These notes are typical of the whole, but only a part of that whole, and I have not tried to describe all the books he covers in his MSS. In subsequent chapters I will examine his notes on the Arcadia and his notes on poetry (particularly from his later reading) and go into the question of the debt his poetry owed to his reading.

The reading lists, the Inventory of his MSS and the catalogue of his library show the full extent of Drummond's literary education. He had an enormous appetite for books, and his facility with languages enabled him to become a European in his tastes. Jonson was by far the better classicist, but he could not match Drummond in the vernaculars, and his opinions on continental poets were worthy of Drummond's scorn. "The best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes," Jonson stated, and pronounced on Petrarch, Du Bartas and Guarini, but as Drummond said "all this was to no purpose, for he neither doeth understand French nor Italianne."¹ Drummond had become a most complete man-of-letters, and knew the value of what he had learned.

His notes show how he acquired that learning, how he picked

1. In the "Conversations." Herford and Simpson, I, 133-4.

up information, lore and entertainment from a hundred sources. His French library reads like a selection of Pasquier's recommendations; Harington too was a tutor of his taste. One book led to another. Renaissance literary works often came from the press armed with a commentary: Petrarch had Lodovico Dolce, Ronsard had Muret and Belleau, Jonson annotated his own. For the determined yet inexperienced reader it was all a great help.

We might ask whether there is any point in knowing what Drummond read. Besides the fascinating and detailed history we have in the MSS of one man's education - a history which has been only partly described here, but which can be examined more fully in the Inventory - there is the information we can glean about Drummond's own writing. I discuss this at some length later (particularly in Chapter VI), but a few examples here will be pertinent. We know Drummond read Pasquier, and on one leaf of his second commonplace book there is his translation of a passage from the Recherches,¹ in which the game of chess is compared to the game of life. Drummond incorporated his translation more or less word for word into a letter to his friend Cunningham of Barnes.² His information on the history and form of the *impresa* probably came from William Camden's

1. MS 2060, f. 143v. This is taken from Pasquier, pp. 414-6. (Drummond's actual reference is wrong; the chapter he names is on venereal diseases.)

2. Works (1711), pp. 146-7.

Remaines;¹ that work appears in one of Drummond's memoranda.

These are examples for his less important productions, but knowing in detail what he read can lead us on to the sources of his inspiration for his literary works, even although the actual evidence of his compositions may be missing from his MSS. Thus having discovered that he read Jonson's masques, we need go no further to find his model for The Entertainment of King Charles (1633): Jonson's Part of the Kings Entertainment in passing to his Coronation (1604). Both have the same structure, the same descriptions of symbolic and mythological characters, the same address to the monarch in the same metre. Jonson's "... Scene presented it selfe in a square and flat vpright, like to the side of a Citie ... Vpon the battlements in a great capitall letter was inscribed, LONDINIVM: According to Tacitus ..." ² Drummond's echo was constructed in like fashion, "an Arch ... represented a Citie situated on a rock, which ... did appeare in perspectiue upon the battlements; in great Letters was written, ΠΤΕΡΩΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΑ. As Ptolomeus nameth it ..." ³

Jonson has his learning, and Drummond finds a match for it. The animated emblems appear, each with their "word;" Jonson has the six daughters of Genius, and Drummond Apollo and the Muses, and, for good measure, the Titans, the Fates, the seven Planets

1. STC 4521.

2. Herford and Simpson, VII, 83.

3. Kastner, II, 113.

and Endymion.

In only one place in all his notes did Drummond ever put his own thoughts on paper. The rarity of this comment alone demands that it be noticed, and since it appears on Drummond's favourite kind of reading - the romance - it is perhaps appropriate to end this chapter with it. After comparing one section of Honoré d'Urfé's L'Astrée to a part of the Amadis de Gaule Drummond remarks on another

The meeting of Damon Madonth and death of Tersander in the 12 booke made the teares to fall from myne eyes.¹

How he must have wept over the Arcadia!

1. MS 2060, f. 288v.

CHAPTER II

DRUMMOND'S NOTES ON SIDNEY'S

ARCADIA

Had Drummond to name one book above all in his library as his favourite, he would have chosen Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. He first read the Arcadia in 1606, and soon afterwards he copied out many of its poems. He returned to the book in 1609, and extracted long sections of the prose - in his manuscripts these take up more than one hundred and twenty pages (MS 2059, ff. 236v - 299v) - and many years after, to judge by the handwriting, he went over and added marginalia to these extracts. Drummond was enchanted with the Arcadia, for like so many of his contemporaries he regarded Sidney as the chief poet and writer in the language.¹

The length of Drummond's extracts alone would discourage a reader from following him through every leaf of his manuscripts; better far to read Sidney on the printed page. We may content ourselves with examining Drummond's preoccupations in his notetaking, and with looking more closely at one passage where his annotations are particularly interesting.

Drummond admired Sidney's language. He quotes many passages of description of moods, places or objects, later labelling them in the margin "contemplation," "action," "sorrow,"

1. See The Library,

"beautye," "description of a place," "brookes," "trees," "flowres," "birds," "combat," "great things," and so on. He marks the verses "hexameters," or "pentameters," and he notes some rhetorical figures of speech, such as simile and gradatio.¹ He seems to be especially fond of Sidney's flowery ornaments, for he copies out in number phrases like "the sweetest fairnesse and the fairest sweetnesse," "the beautifying of her beauties," as well as extended virtuosities such as "Philanax then finding that reason cannot shew it selfe more reasonable, then to leaue reasoning in things aboue reason"

Many of his extracts are concerned with women, their beauty, their virtues, their vices, their treachery. His margins point to their dualistic nature, to their jealousy, to their perfection. "Loue the worst of passionnes;" "disgrace of loue;" "disgrace of womankind;" "hure;" "ioy;" "all best in a louer;" "cupids laws" - these all appear. Elsewhere the comment is ironical, as on "the faire Ladie with the fowle teeth, Natures hand shook when she was in making," which he labels "excellent beautye."

A few remarks show us a little of Drummond himself: he considers as "excellent" the sentence "weeping Cupid told his mother that he was sorry," and he thinks it worth while to note down the advice for those who would frequent the court - "to

1. Gradatio appears elsewhere in the marginalia as climax.

keepe broade eyes, soft feet, long ears, & most short tongue." He says against the tarantella that "an Italian Doni named a loue book thus." (Apart from Doni, one of whose works he had in his library, he must have remembered his uncle William Fowler's poem, "The Tarantella of Love.") On one passage which occurs at the end of Book 3 he marks his own initials, as though he meant to remind himself of some personal misfortune:

O unfortunate suspicion, said she, the very meane to lose
that we most suspect to lose. O unkind kindnesse of mine,
which returns an imagined wrong with an effectual injury
(f. 272r).

The most interesting annotations of Drummond's are those he made on two of Sidney's formal orations, Pamela's refutation of atheism and Pyrocles' and Philoclea's debate on suicide. These he tried to dissect into their separate arguments. In this he seems to have been only partially successful, for at the best, his analysis of the arrangement of the two orations is inadequate, judging him by the current theories of the time. But this failure is instructive, for if it tells us nothing about Sidney, it does tell us something about Drummond, and how well versed he was in rhetoric. Before we can judge this, however, we need to go into, in some detail, a few Renaissance theories on the formal organization of an oration.

Many scholars have examined the rhetorical set-pieces of the Arcadia to see if they could detect what models or plans Sidney used in their composition, and as a result we now know

that he was content with no one system.¹ Sidney was well versed in the theories of rhetoric; he knew his Cicero, Quintilian, Aristotle and Hermogenes. He could work to a pattern or let his argument follow his logic. Some of his formal orations are based on the classical six-part division, and in them we do find exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio and peroratio. Again, we could expect an arrangement agreeing with Aristotle's theories in the Rhetorica (for Sidney translated the first two books) where the structure was designed to suit the argument, or with the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium, which also left the ordering of the theme up to the writer. Or we might find the arguments following a division of logic, such as the heads of places or topics.² None of this is strictly relevant here, for we are interested not in what Sidney did, but in what Drummond thought he did. Plate V shows how Drummond marked one part of Pamela's refutation of atheism; here, with a transcription from the edition he almost certainly used (that of Edinburgh, 1599; STC 22542; ff. 129v et seq.) is a copy of his division of the oration:

refutation * She would haue spoken further to haue enlarged
of atheisme and confirmed her discourse: when Pamela (whose
cheekes were died in the beautifullest graine of

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1. Richard A. Lanham, "The Old Arcadia," in Walter R. Davis and R. A. Lanham, Sidney's Arcadia (New Haven, 1965), pp. 239-40.
 2. P. Albert Duhumel, "Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Rhetoric," Studies in Philology, XLV (1948), 134-50.

vertuous anger, with eies which glittered forth beames of disdaine) thus interrupted her. Peace (wicked woman) peace, vnworthy to breath, that dost not acknowledge the breath-giuer; most vnworthy to haue a tongue, which speakest against him, through whom thou speakest: keepe your affection to your selfe, which like a bemired dog, would defile with fauning. You say yesterday was as to day. O foolish woman, & most miserably foolish, since witte makes you foolish. What doth that argue, but that there is a constancie in the euerlasting gouernour? Would you haue an inconstant God, since we counte a man foolish that is inconstant? Hee is not seene you say, and would you thinke him a God, who might bee seene by so wicked eyes as yours? Which yet might see ynough, if they were not like such, who for sporte-sake willinglie hoodwincke themselues to receiue blowes the easier. But though I speake to you without anie hope of fruite in so rotten a harte, and there bee no bodie else here to judge of my speeches, yet bee thou my witnesse, O captiuitie, that my yeares shall not bee willinglie guiltie of my Creators blasphemie. You saie, because wee knowe not the causes of thinges; therefore feare was the mother of superstition; nay, because wee know that each effect hath a cause, that hath engendred a true and liuely deuotion. For this goodly worke of which wee are, and in which wee liue, hath not his being by Chaunce; on which opinion it is beyond meruaile by what chaunce any braine coulde stumble. *For if it be eternall (as you would seeme to conceiue of it) Eternitie, and Chaunce are thinges vnsufferable together. For that is chaunceable which happeneth; and if it happen, there was a time before it happened, when it might haue not happened; or else it did not happen; and so if chaunceable, not eternall. *And as absurde it is to thinke, that if it had a beginning, his beginning was deriued from Chaunce: for Chaunce could neuer make all thinges of nothing: and if there were substaunces before, which by chaunce should meete to make vppe this worke, thereon followes another bottomelesse pitt of absurdities. For then those substaunces must needes haue bene from euer and so eternall: and that eternall causes should bring foorth chaunceable effectes, is as sensible, as that the Sunne should be the author of darkenesse.

arg. 1

arg. 2

- arg 3 *Againe, if it were chaunceable, then was it not necessary; whereby you take away all consequents. But we see in all things, in some respect or other, necessitie of consequence: therefore in reason we must needes know that the causes were necessary.
- arg. 4 *Lastly, Chaunce is variable, or else it is not to be called Chaunce: but we see this worke is steady and permanent. If nothing but Chaunce had glewed those pieces of this All, the heauy parts would haue gone infinitely downward, the light infinitely vpwarde, and so neuer haue mett to haue made vp this goodly bodie. For before there was a heauen, or a earth, there was neyther a heauen to stay the height of the rising, nor an earth, which (in respect of the round walles of heauen) should become a centre. *Lastly, perfect order, perfect beautie, perfect constancie, if these be the children of Chaunce, let wisdom be counted the roote of wickednesse. *But you will say, it is so by nature, as much as if you saide it is so, because it is so: if you meane of many natures conspiring together, as in a popular gouernement, to establish this faire estate; *as if the Elementish and ethereall partes shoulde in their towne house, set downe the boundes to each ones office; then consider what followes: that there must needes haue bene a wisdom which made them concur: for their natures being absolute contrary, in nature rather would haue sought each others ruine, thē haue serued as well consorted parts to such an vnexpresseable harmonie. For that contrary things should meete to make vp a perfection without a force, and Wisdom above their powers, is absolutely impossible; vnleffe you will flie to that hissed-out opinion of Chaunce againe.
- arg. 5
- reply *But you may perhaps affirme, that one vniuersall Nature (which hath bene for euer) is the knitting together of these many parts to such an excellent vnitie. *If you meane a Nature of wisdom, goodnes, & providence, which knowes what it doth, then saye you that, which I seeke of you, and cannot conclude those blasphemies, with which you defiled your mouth, & mine eares.
- ansr *But if you meane a Nature, as we speake of the fire, which goeth vpward, it knowes not why: and of the nature of the Sea which in ebbing & flowing seemes to obserue so just a daunce, and yet vnderstands no musicke, it is but still the same absurditie superscribed with another title.
- 2 reply
- ansr 1
- ansr 2

2 reply

ans 1

ans 2

arg.

But Zol may perhaps affirm, that one being is
 nature (but says better for one) it is the kindness
 to order of people many paths to know and receive
 truth. if Zol means a nature of being one
 good will & Providence but knows that it does
 from say Zol that but I like of Zol, & cannot
 conclude from his blaspheemies, but say Zol defies
 Providence & mine eyes. But if Zol means a
 nature, as to speak of his being one
 by itself, it knows not by; and of the name
 for the by in oblige & follows being to
 for in a cadence, & yet does not stand in
 mistake, it is but the same as if I say
 supposed to be one by itself. for if it
 one being at all, but to say it is but
 one instance of many & many, one, as in
 the matter of one by one Kingdom,
 but containing many cities, or one city
 but containing many persons, by it is the
 better one (if there be not a superior
 power or by one) cannot be nature, regard
 to any personification but if I am thinking
 more of the, say so, since the better being

apl

ans 2

conclusion

PLATE V.

Part of Pamela's speech on atheism from
 Sidney's Arcadia, with Drummond's marginal
 divisions (MS 2059, f. 259v)

you are
 the first
 instance

position

position

sequence

as.

sequence

Notes
arg.

in an ordinary sense. I like the of Zol
 among being points arise. I like the of Zol
 being bold & singularity & singularity of
 in the first place among them (if it is only
 a mind can lift it up by itself) do but
 you, see a being by itself giving for itself
 a most excellent kind of being (but Zol
 can be of a base & vile degree of being
 & right to a not being, but it is to be, &
 not to enjoy it all as being. I like not
 at all your by itself to himself but can find
 no use in it, but Zol's not most suitable
 evidence of his by itself & myself of his

2 reply

ans 1

ans 2

arg.

arg. 2

Notes
arg.

But you may perhaps affirm, that one being is
 nature (but you say better for one) it is the kindness
 border of off itself many parts to know and respect
 unity. if you mean a nature of by one
 word, you are in the presence of knowledge that it does
 you say you say by the of you, & can
 conclude you are grasping at the by you define
 yourself & mine cases. But if you mean a
 nature, as to speak of the by you say
 by itself, it knows not by; and of the nature
 the sea by in oblige & follows being to of
 so in a cadence, & yet does not stand no
 mistake, it is but the the same a of unity
 super added to one by or the. for the
 one being attribute to that by & which is but
 one mingling of many & many ones; as in
 the matter you be by one Kingdom
 but containing many cities; or one city
 but of many persons, by or in the
 under ones (if there be not a superior
 power & by one) cannot be nature & made
 to any proposition but if you say, no
 more do you say so, since the by & by
 quiescent by the & by the by & by
 as by from a by by; but it is a
 point, nature indeed, as it is a nature
 from, & by to by from.

Again it is absurd in nature, if from one
 unity many contraries should proceed. The by
 in a unity, as it from the number of by
 away by from arise. If by the of you
 be, by by in singularity & plurality of
 in the by among them (if it is by
 a mind can lift it by by by) do but
 you, you a by by by by by by
 & most & least kind of being (by you
 can be of a by & by & by of being
 & not to a not being, by & by by, &
 not to enjoy of all the being. If the nature
 can be by by by by by by can by
 not be by by, by you not most by
 & by of by by by by of by

reply

ans 2

conclusion

proposition

position

first

sequence

sequence

arg.

*For this worde, one, being attributed to that which is All, is but one mingling of many, and many ones; as in a lesse matter, when wee say one kingdome which conteines many citties; or one cittie which conteines many persons: wherein the vnder ones (if there bee not a superiour power and wisdom) cannot by nature regard to any preservation but of themselues: no more we see they do, since the water willingly quenches the fire, and drownes the earth; so far are they from a conspired vnitie: but that a right heauenly Nature indeede, as it were vnnaturinge them, doth so bridle them.

arg. 2

*Againe, it is as absurde in nature, that from an vnitie many contraries shoulde proceede still kept in an vnitie: as that from the number of contrarieties an vnitie should arise, I say still, if you bannish both a singularitie, and pluralitie of judgement from among them then (if so earthly a minde can lift itselfe vp so hie) doe but conceaue, how a thing whereto you giue the highest, and most excellent kinde of being (which is eternitie) can be of a base and vilest degree of being, and next to a not-being; which is so to be, as not to enjoy his owne being? *I will not here call your senses to witnesse which can heare, nor see nothing, which yeelds not most euident euidence of the vnspeakablenesse of that Wisdom: each thing being directed to an end, and an ende of preservation: so proper effects of judgement, as speaking, and laughing are of mankinde.

New arg.

But what madde furie can euer so enueagle any conceipte, as to see our mortal and corruptible selues to haue a reason, and that this vniuersallitie (whereof wee are but the least pieces) should bee vtterly deuouide thereof? as if one should saie, that ones foote might be wise, and himselfe foolish. This heard I once alleadged against such a godlesse mind as yours, who being driuen to acknowledge this beastly absurdity, that our bodies should be better then the whole world, if it had the knowledge, whereof the other were void; *he sought (not able to answere directly) to shift it off in this sort: that if that reason were true, then must it follow also, that the world must haue in it a spirite, that could write and read too, and be learned; since that was in vs commendable: *wretched foole, not considering that Bookes be but supplies of defects; and so are praysed, because they helpe our want,

reply

ansr

and therefore cannot be incident to the eternall intelligence, which needs no recording of opinions to confirme his knowledge, no more then the Sunne wants waxe to be the fuell of his glorious lightfulness. *This worlde therefore cannot otherwise consist but by a minde of Wisedome, which gouerns it, which whether you will allow to be the Creator thereof, as vndoubtedly he is, or the soule and gouernour thereof, *most certaine it is, that whether he gouerne al, or make all, his power is aboue either his creatures, or his gouernement.

conclusion

first position

second position

first consequence arg.

2 consequence arg.

3 consequence arg.

general conclusion

*And if his power be aboue all things, then consequently it must needs be infinite, since there is nothing aboue it to limit it. For beyond which there is nothing, must needs be boundlesse, and infinite: *if his power be infinite, then likewise must his knowledge be infinite: *for else there should bee an infinite proportion of power which he should not know how to vse; the vnsensiblenesse whereof I thinke euen you can conceaue: *and if infinite, then must nothing, no not the estate of flies (which you with so vnsauerie skorne did jest at) be vnknowne vnto him. *For if it were, then there were his knowledge bounded, and so not infinite: *if knowledge and power be infinite, then muste needes his goodnesse and justice march in the same rancke: *for infinitenes of power, and knowledge, without like measure of goodnesse, must necessarily bring foorth destruction and ruine, and not ornament and preservation. *Since then there is a God, & an all-knowing God, so as he sees into the darkest of all naturall secretes which is the hart of Man; and sees therein the deepest dissembled thoughts, nay sees the thoughts before they bee thought: since he is just to exercise his might, and mightie to performe his justice, assure thy selfe, moste wicked woman) that haste so plaguelie a corrupted minde, as thou canst not keepe thy sicknesse to thy selfe, but must moste wickedly infect others) assure thy selfe, I say, (for what I say dependes on euerlasting and vnremoueable causes) that the time will come, when thou shalt knowe that power by feeling it, when thou shalt see his wisdome in the manifesting thy ougly shamefulnessse, and shalt not perceiue him to haue bene a Creator in thy destruction. (MS 2059, ff. 259v et seq.)

A clue to at least the first part of Drummond's division of the oration is in the Edinburgh curriculum of 1626.¹ This lists the texts which were to be used in the Town's College, and although it was set down some twenty years after Drummond himself was at the university, it is most improbable that these were any different, at least in this subject, from those he read. The students for their rhetoric were to be taught from Cassander as a general text, from "Talaesus for tropes and figures," and from Aphthonius for formal arrangement. Cassander we can identify as George Cassander, the Protestant author of a short epitome of rhetoric; Talaesus as Omer Talon, the disciple of Peter Ramus; and Aphthonius as the fourth century writer of a manual of first exercises or Progymnasmata. This last work is almost certainly the source of Drummond's arrangement of the first part of Pamela's oration.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the teaching of rhetoric was usually postponed until the student was in the university. The ultimate authorities were still Cicero, Quintilian and Aristotle, and the classical fivefold division of the subject into inventio, or the finding of material; dispositio, or arrangement; elocutio, or style; pronuntiatio, or delivery; and memoria, or memorizing, was still supreme, though by no means so secure as it had once seemed.² Some

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1. See University of Edinburgh: Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus, 1583-1858 (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 111-2.
 2. Walter J. Ong, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 270-92.

fifty years before Drummond began his studies, Ramus had decreed that rhetoric should no longer have these five parts, but that it should henceforth consist of only two, elocutio or style, and pronuntiatio or delivery. Inventio and dispositio he considered a part of logic, and memoria he disposed of altogether, making it a division of dispositio. Thus rhetoric became merely a matter of ornamentation and delivery, while the finding and organization of material was studied as a section of logic. The arrangement of an oration depended entirely upon its logical structure, and any model that the orator might employ should be one drawn from the theory of logic.

In a way, this was satisfactory enough, for it was in part a recognition of what many rhetoricians already did, and what was already sanctified by classical authority. Had not Cicero in his Topica recommended an arrangement based on the topics or places? Yet Ramist theories had their problems even for enthusiasts, and a chief problem was that it seemed easier to instruct students in the old system. Thus universities which went over to Ramus seldom went the whole way. Edinburgh is an example of one such institution which preferred to make a compromise, and the compromise in this case was the retention of Aphthonius in their curriculum.

Teachers of rhetoric seem to have felt that Ramus was least adequate when it came to that part of the art called dispositio. Of course Ramus had decided that dispositio was now in logic, but a novice needed more than a direction to turn to his book

of dialectic, he needed a straight-forward text to tell him how to organize a theme formally, some examples to show him how it should be done, and some practice in the method. The treatises of the great classical authorities were complex, and occasionally what they said was not applicable to schoolboys. They were reticent on dispositio or arrangement - Aristotle skimmed it, Cicero passed it by, while their Renaissance commentators and theorists such as Agricola, Melchior Cano or Leonard Cox were as silent. "We seem here," the American scholar Father Ong remarks, "to be in the presence of some mysterious occupational disease."¹ To serve this elementary but pressing need the academics fell back with relief upon Aphthonius.

The Progymnasmata was of course studied in a Latin translation, almost certainly that by Reinhard Lorch, which was considerably augmented with scholia and additional examples.² It was a simple and useful text, and the terms it used were precise and readily understandable. It was almost entirely concerned with dispositio or arrangement, though in passing it provided the student with a ready means of finding what to say, as well as telling how to set it down.

It divided themes into fourteen kinds:

- (1) the retelling of a fable; (2) the short narrative;

1. Ibid., p. 115.

2. See Francis R. Johnson's introduction to Richard Rainolde's The Foundation of Rhetorike (repr. New York, 1945), pp. xi-xiv.

(3) the theme on the saying or deed or some person; (4) the theme on some proverb or wise saying (sententia); (5) the theme refuting some statement or proposition (destructio); (6) the theme upholding some statement or proposition (confirmatio); (7) the theme on some common-place or general truth; (8) a eulogy or encomium; (9) a dispraise or defamation; (10) a comparison; (11) a speech put into the mouth of some person or abstraction; (12) a description; (13) a speech arguing a debatable point (thesis); (14) an oration for or against a law.¹ Aphthonius defined these exercises, and gave examples of each.

Some of the exercises were uncomplicated, such as the retelling of a fable or the short narrative, but even in these Aphthonius recommended an order for the student to proceed by, so that he might be the better able to arrange his theme. With a plan he would be at less of a loss for what to say. Thus the fable should first be recited, then its author praised, its moral discussed, its allegory explained and so on. In the more difficult exercises the advantage of a fixed plan was even more evident, for the student when arguing might so easily go astray. Thus in his chapter De confirmatione - the upholding of some statement or proposition - Aphthonius divided the exercise into six headings. The orator should show that the statement he supported was manifesto, probabili, possibili, cohaerente,

1. Ibid., p. iv.

decente and conferente.¹ This Richard Rainolde, who adapted the Progymnasmata for the English reader, renders as "shewe the matter to be manifest. Credible. Prossible [sic]. Agreying to the truthe. Shewe to the facte comelie. Profitable."² The opposite exercise, the destructio or refutation, he divided into the corresponding antonyms: the orator should show the proposition he attacked was obsкуро, incredibili, impossibili, inconsequenti, indecoro and inutili,³ or, "the matter to be obscure, that is vncertain Incrediblie. [sic] Impossible. Not agreying to any likelihode of truthe. Vncomelie to be talked of. Vnprofitable."⁴

If we now return to Sidney's Arcadia, and in particular to the first part of Pamela's refutation of atheism, we can see that Drummond was almost certainly dividing the oration according to Aphthonius' chapter on the destructio. What is more, it is also probable that he was right, and that Sidney did use this for a model.

Cecropia's argument to Pamela in favour of atheism is the conventional one that man is sufficient unto himself, in

1. Aphthonius, A. Progymnasmata ... cum scholiis R. Lorichii (Amsterdam, 1645), p. 142. Like most schoolbooks, copies of Aphthonius are rare: this edition (which of course was not the one used by Drummond) was translated by Rudolph Agricola and Johann Catanaeus.
2. Rainolde, op.cit., f. 28v.
3. Aphthonius, p. 114.
4. Rainolde, f. 24v.

superstition he has accounted for all that he cannot understand, and that if there be any powers above, it is certain that they cannot be touched by human eloquence. The world is changeless;

"be wise, and that wisdom shall be a God vnto thee;
be contented, and that is thy heauen."

Pamela's reply to this opens with first a reprehension against Cecropia, and then an exposition of the matter to be refuted. Both these preliminaries were recommended by Aphthonius.¹ The reprehensio begins "Peace (wicked woman) peace, vnworthy to breath ..." and ends in the same sentence with "... which like a bemired dog, would defile with fauning." The expositio was classically a brief statement of the opponent's discourse; here Sidney, being a practised hand, wove into it some hints of his subsequent arguments, and continued the castigation of Cecropia begun in the reprehensio. Thus the expositio starting with the phrase "You say yesterday was as to day ..." states the case on the run, as it were. The arguments then follow in this order:

obscurio: For this goodly worke of which wee are, and in which wee liue, hath not his being by Chaunce; on which opinion it is beyond meruaile by what chaunce any braine coulde stumble.

1. Aphthonius, p. 114. It is worth mentioning at this point that the unpublished dissertation by Daniel N. Fader, "Aphthonius and Elizabethan Prose Romance" (Stanford University, 1963) has little detailed discussion of Sidney, and nothing on this oration.

incredibili: For if it be eternall (as you would seem to conceiue of it) Eternitie, and Chaunce are thinges vnsufferable together. For that is chaunceable which happeneth; and if it happen, there was a time before it happened, when it might haue not happened; or else it did not happen; and so if chaunceable, not eternall.

impossibili: And as absurde it is to thinke, that if it had a beginning, his beginning was deriued from Chaunce: for Chaunce could neuer make all thinges of nothing: and if there was substances before, which by chaunce should meete to make vppe this worke, thereon followes another bottomelesse pitt of absurdities. For then those substances must needes haue bene from euer and so eternall: and that eternall causes should bring foorth chaunceable effectes, is as sensible, as that the Sunne should be the author of darkenesse.

inconsequenti: Againe, if it were chaunceable, then was it not necessary; whereby you take away all consequents. But we see in all things, in some respect or other, necessitie of consequence: therefore in reason we must needes know that the causes were necessary.

indecoro: Lastly, Chaunce is variable, or else it is not to be called Chaunce: but we see this worke is steady and permanent. If nothing but Chaunce had glewed those pieces of this All, the heauy parts would haue gone infinitely downeward, the light infinitely vpwarde, and so neuer haue mett to haue made vp this goodly bodie. For before there was a heauen, or a earth, there was neyther a heauen to stay the height of the rising, nor an earth, which (in respect of the round walles of heauen) should become a centre.

inutili: Lastly, perfect order, perfect beautie, perfect constancie, if these be the children of Chaunce, let wisdom be counted the roote of wickednesse.

It can be seen that Sidney used Aphthonius here only as a guide, and did not slavishly follow the set exercise. Some of his arguments fit the headings better than others: impossibili, inconsequenti and indecoro are well served; the other three

less so. Drummond's reading of the six headings was that they were only five, for as was shown above he set his "arg. 1" at "For if it be eternall ..." (incredibili).

As Drummond saw it the oration then continued according to Aphthonius' exercise for a thesis. In theory this is reasonable enough, for the thesis was "a reasoning by question, vpon a matter vncertaine,"¹ and might well follow upon the destruction of an opponent's case. The thesis should proceed through rhetorical questions, each with their answer, contradictio and solutio.² Contradictios issue forth from Pamela's mouth as "But you will say ..." and "But you may perhaps affirme ..." and are immediately answered with a solutio. There is even a double answer to the second objection.

What Drummond missed - perhaps it would be fairer to say ignored - was the plan of the whole oration. There seems no doubt that though Sidney may have been guided in part by an elementary arrangement such as that provided by the examples of Aphthonius, he was relying on another system altogether for his major arrangement. One critic has already mentioned in passing what that system was,³ and although he did not go beyond the briefest of statements, the details can easily be filled in by anyone who is willing to take the trouble. Sidney uses five

1. Rainolde, f. 54r.

2. Aphthonius, pp. 358 et seq.

3. Duhamel, loc.cit., p. 149.

main arguments in the oration, and he bases them on the topics of effects, definition, genus, comparison and consequences.

This is a dispositio based on an order in formal logic.

If we go to the textbook that Drummond was probably taught from at Edinburgh, we can see something of the theory of topics or places, and their use in rhetoric. In common with most theorists, George Cassander neglects dispositio as such, and takes the Ciceronian position that arrangement should be governed by expedience, and that arguments should follow a logical rather than a rhetorical pattern. In the orthodox way he holds that the topics or places of logic can provide a suitable framework for argumentation, for "locum dialectici vocant sedem argumentorum."¹ He later gives a Tabulæ locorum, saying that a topic or place "est inueniendorum argumentorum, & propiis e locis depromendorum scientia."²

"The store house of places" belonged to the part of logic called inventio;³ they were a means of finding out the grounds upon which statements might be defended or attacked. The subject of argument could be examined to discover its nature, and whether or not the proposition argued agreed with its

1. Georgius Cassander, Tabulæ breves et expeditæ in præceptiones rhetoricæ in G. C. opera quæ reperiri potuerunt omnia (Paris, 1616), p. 1276.

2. Loc.cit., p. 1331.

3. Thomas Wilson, The rule of reason, contayning the arte of logike (London, 1567), f. 36v.

logical properties.¹ Thus Mucidorus in his speech to Pyrocles in the first book of the Arcadia, attacks Pyrocles' behaviour in falling in love as unworthy of a prince. The arguments used are drawn from the places: the second, for instances, is based upon genus. Pyrocles is a man, man should be ruled by reason - the distinguishing mark of his genus - and any behaviour that could be shown to be unreasonable, such as languishing in love, is against the natural behaviour of his kind.²

In his Tabulae locorum Cassander gives a list of the chief places (they were capable of subdivision - Thomas Wilson, in his Rule of reason, has twenty-four).³ These run from locus ex partibus through ex genere to locus ex comparatione and locus extrinsecus assumptis.⁴ By using the correct place or places upon a proposition an orator could discover the most logical ways of upholding or attacking it. Truly the places were the seat of argument.

Sidney in Pamela's refutation of atheism not only bases his arguments upon the places, but he also allows them to govern his arrangement of the oration. He begins as we saw with a normal

1. Ong, pp. 116 et seq.

2. This example is cited by Duhamel, loc.cit., pp. 144-8.

3. Rudolph Agricola set the number of places at twenty-four, and most Renaissance critics followed him; Cicero was supposed to have seventeen, Aristotle some three hundred and sixty. Ong, p. 122.

4. Cassander, loc.cit., pp. 1335-51.

reprehensio and expositio which together form the exordium and then the arguments follow in this order from the places of effects, definition, genus, comparison and consequences.

effects: For if it be eternall (as you would seeme to conceiue of it) Eternitie, and Chaunce are thinges vn-sufferable together. For that is chaunceable which happeneth; and if it happen, there was a time before it happened, when it might haue not happened ...

definition: Lastly, Chaunce is variable, or else it is not to be called Chaunce: but we see this worke is steady and permanent ...

genus: Againe, it is as absurde in nature, that from an vnitie many contraries shoulde proceede still kept in vnitie ...

comparison: But what madde furie can euer so enueagle any conceipte, as to see our mortal and corruptible selues to haue a reason, and that this vniuersallitie (whereof wee are but the least pieces) should bee vtterly deuoid thereof ...

consequences: And if his power be aboue all things, then consequently it must needs be infinite, since there is nothing aboue it to limit it

Although Drummond might not have encountered in his formal education places as a part of rhetoric - for Edinburgh taught Ramus, and Ramus, against classical authority, held that there were no places proper to rhetoric - he would of course have been familiar with them from his study of logic. And it seems from his marginalia on the last part of Pamela's discourse that he at least recognized that this section was argued on the topic of consequences. He lists the several arguments, the first and second positions, and the first, second and third consequences. Whether if he had cared he could have done as much for the rest

of the discourse we do not know; the organization of an oration was such a practised skill, the theory so familiar, that we must suppose he could have gone further had he so wished.

On a second debate - Philoclea's and Pyrocles' discussion of suicide in Book 4 - Drummond's annotations are less interesting (MS 2059, ff. 278r - 279v). He lists the main arguments of each speaker, but does not subdivide them. Philoclea takes the negative Christian view of suicide, Pyrocles defends the positive pagan side; the result is rhetorical stalemate. The arguments again are drawn from the places. At the end Philoclea tips the balance against suicide by claiming that apart from the deed being wrong in the negative sense - not valorous, not virtuous - it is also a positive evil, that is, a Christian sin. At this place in his transcript, recognizing this point, Drummond has the words "contrary conclusion prouen, in how much the first reasons var alloable."

Detailed analysis of an Elizabethan oration can be a tedious business, for we no longer share that intimate knowledge of the terms of rhetoric and logic with which the Elizabethans were so familiar. But it does enable us to see them as they saw themselves, and to follow them in the course of composition. Drummond's annotations show how much the formalities of rhetoric mattered, and how much trouble an interested reader was likely to take to dissect a discourse just to discover how it was put together. As I have suggested, Drummond's training in rhetoric seems to have been a little inadequate, for he was only able to

mark the outlines of Sidney's oration. This we can probably blame on Ramus.

CHAPTER III

DRUMMOND AT THE PLAY

In September of 1607 Drummond saw some plays at Bourges, and with his usual industry he recorded the proceedings in great detail.¹ He saw in all more than twenty productions - tragedies, tragicomedies, comedies, a pastoral and some farces - put on over several weeks. His notes are closely written and at times illegible; we might be tempted to pass them by, but they are of great interest, for they show us Drummond writing in Scots, and they add much to our knowledge of the French theatre of the early seventeenth century. These notes are worth far more than their unprepossessing appearance would suggest, for they are a unique record of the repertory of the most important troupe of the time, and as such, they are quite without rival either in detail or completeness. They handsomely fill a gap in French theatrical history.

Our knowledge of this period has hitherto been at the best fragmentary. The names of the actors and actresses have been preserved, and we know the companies they belonged to, and some of the parts they played. We know something of how the players were organized, and there are in the official records occasional details of their dealings with the authorities of the court and the city. But though we knew in general what the players

1. MS 2059, ff. 65r-81v, 84r. See Appendix 1.

1807
at Zürich. The first comedie

A. 3.
 The first comedie
 The prologue presentit p'm selfe at the firste of the comedie
 for son giveth much a bus forson in p'se of the p'm
 of hope concluding it by grace and better hope for
 being sought for for enoyous be long sought be some
 and so seeketh p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 The firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 combe it p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 for the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 Due of Saponie giveth upon the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 made. but the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 space of a year to cement the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 being the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 p'se of the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 Due of Saponie giveth upon the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 p'se of the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.
 p'se of the firste of the comedie p'm selfe at the firste in p'se of it.

all pairs a ring
in position
with my best
of glint / 14
2 groups each of
one sample a
deep of Seron

PLATE VI.

The first page of Drummond's notes on French plays seen at Bourges, 1607 (MS 2059, f. 69r)

you have desired to see me again in about 10 days
of saying you was a friend of mine but you were not
my friend as a kind of friend but a friend of mine
you have said you were a friend of mine but you were not
my friend as a kind of friend but a friend of mine
you have said you were a friend of mine but you were not
my friend as a kind of friend but a friend of mine

performed, we have had to guess the details. Drummond's MSS show us the whole: we see the full repertory of the company from tragedy to farce, the fulsome harangues by the "prologue," the melodrama, the jokes. We are given some hints on how the plays were staged, and something of the audience's reaction to what was offered.

Of incidental interest is the fact that these notes are written in Scots, and that they are the only considerable piece of prose by Drummond in Scots. His spelling and usage here is not at all Anglicized, yet a few years later he is writing English. His accounts of the plays were probably taken down in a hurry after the performance, for his notes are not always intelligible. He occasionally misses or muddles the jokes, forgets the names of the characters, and loses the thread of the action. Yet his reporting is immediate and direct, and the reader who perseveres will feel that Drummond really was there at the play, and that the play really took place before an audience that afternoon in September, 1607. As a history of a run-of-the-mill season Drummond's is crude but effective; certainly there is nothing like it elsewhere. It is surprising that it has been unnoticed so long, for it adds so much to our knowledge of the theatre of the time that it deserves close examination.

The first point to be made clear is that there were two troupes in Bourges at about the same time in 1607, one French and one Italian. (In addition Drummond made notes on a Latin

play he saw put on by the scholars at the local Jesuit school, and these will be discussed later.) The French troupe arrived in Bourges, stayed for at least nine days, giving a play a day, followed by a farce. The Italian players came shortly after them, presented two or more plays, and then left. It is possible that there was some rivalry between the two companies, and certainly there was local hostility to their presence in Bourges. The Italian troupe may have been forced to cut short their visit.

Drummond's notes on the plays at Bourges are divided into three parts. They begin with a section on the Italian plays, headed "The Italien comedies at Burgess 21 of Septembr 1607" which has only notes on one full play (labelled "the first") and part of another. Then follow notes on the Latin play "In collegio Societatis Ihesuitarum," and after these a much longer section on the season given by the French troupe. This last is headed "Comedies de la Porte and Valerin quhair the yonger sister of the vther was ane actor 1607 at Burgess." It begins with "the first comedie" (Drummond called all the plays "comedies"¹) and follows with "the farce," "the second days comedie" and so on, with only a few gaps, to "the nynt days comedie."

We can identify the company of French players with absolute certainty, for the names that Drummond mentions belong to two actors who have an important place in French theatrical history,

1. It was still a current usage in Drummond's day applied to any play with a happy ending. See OED.

being the first actors of any distinction or reputation.¹

Drummond's "la Porte" is the actor Mathieu Lefebvre, known as Laporte,² and his "Valerin" the actor Valleran le Conte,³ the leader of the troupe who frequently called themselves the Comédiens du Roi. "The yonger sister of the vther" (that is, Laporte) is a woman not known to historians, but this is probably an error on Drummond's part for the actress Marie Venier, who was the wife of Laporte.⁴ There is no previous record of these actors performing in Bourges in 1607.

Valleran le Conte was at this time having some difficulty both in recruiting and finding work for his troupe. He had in 1606 engaged a young apprentice, Estienne de Ruffin, and besides him, he had with him only his principal comedian François de Vautrel, the comedian Hugues Guéru (better known as Gaultier-Garguille), and Savinien Bony. The troupe was in Paris in May 1607 where they played at the permanent theatre of the Hotel de Bourgogne; in June and July they were in Bordeaux. They were back in Paris at the end of September, where the Hôtel de Bourgogne was rented by one Guillaume de Ruffin who was acting

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1. Henry C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, 1929-42), II, 726-32.
 2. Georges Mongrédien, Dictionnaire Biographique des Comédiens Français du XVII^e Siècle (Paris, 1961), p. 103.
 3. Mongrédien, pp. 162-3.
 4. Mongrédien, p. 103. Marie Venier had a sister, Colombe Venier, who was also an actress, and perhaps Drummond is referring to her. Lancaster, II, 731.

as agent for the troupe, for a period beginning the 23rd September. According to a contract signed with the masters of the Hôtel de Bourgogne on the 24th October, Laporte and his wife Marie Venier were now among Valleran's company.¹

These details are important in determining the date of the company's appearance in Bourges, for they show us a gap in our knowledge of Valleran's whereabouts during August and September. It is most likely that the troupe played the provinces on its way home from Bordeaux, and we can narrow down the time of their performances in Bourges, for we know that Laporte was in the town on or around the ninth of September. This last fact is also connected with the reception which the players received from the citizens of Bourges.

There was apparently considerable opposition to any players, Italian or French, performing at Bourges that year. This opposition was organized by the Jesuits, who even went so far as to threaten excommunication to all who attended the plays. Laporte was bold enough to deliver a protest against this edict, and his Prologue was put into print. It was, according to the diarist Pierre de l'Estoile, "ung escrit nouveau à la main, d'une feuille ... intitulé: Prologue de la Porte, comoedien" L'Estoile did not think much of the Prologue: "Le discours en est gauffe et mal fait, digne d'un bouffon et comoedien,

1. S. Wilma Deierkauf Holsboer, "Vie d'Alexandre Hardy, Poète du Roi," reprinted from Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XCI (1947), 346-8.

remarquable seulement pour le subject"¹

What made it remarkable, and worthy of the notice of a sophisticated Parisian like L'Estoile, was its language, which, if not elevated, was certainly outspoken. Laporte defended the plays his company performed as harmless - they were an honest pastime - and in a clever touch quoted St. Thomas Aquinas on the necessity for recreation. He noted that the king and court attended the theatre, and that they approved of "notre profession." (Valleran's troupe was usually known as the Comédiens du Roi.) But it was his manner of speaking of the Jesuits themselves which made his pamphlet worth the printing. Besides referring to them as "machiavélistes," he spoke of their "malicieuse ignorance," and castigated them in the following terms:

Cachez-vous donc, calomniateurs insensez, ou guérissez vos vieux ulcères avant que sonder les playes avant que votre venimeuse morsure nous a faictes, car nous ne sentons aucune aultre que celle-là, aulcun ver qui nous poigne la conscience d'un mordant repentir. Nos actions sont ouvertes comme nos coeurs: Nostre Roy les voit journellement, y prend plaisir et les approuve²

The comedians were evidently not taking the threats of the Jesuits in a spirit of meekness and humility. Laporte's protest was at least partially successful, for the plays went on, though as we shall see later, the audiences were on the thin side.

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1. Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile, ed. G. Brunet et al. (Paris, 1875-96), VIII, 348.
 2. Hipp^{te} Boyer, "L'Ancien Théâtre a Bourges," in Mémoires de la Société Historique, Littéraire, Artistique et Scientifique du Cher (Bourges, 1892), pp. 44-52. Boyer reprints Laporte's pamphlet.

Excommunication was a powerful weapon.

This pamphlet of Laporte's enables us to be sure that Valleran le Conte's troupe was in Bourges during the first week of September, 1607. Valleran's partnership with Laporte seems to have been born of necessity, for Laporte was accustomed to leading his own troupe, and lack of work must have forced him to join with Valleran. Valleran was short-handed, he had no women in his company, and both Laporte himself and especially Marie Venier would be valuable additions. Drummond's note singling her out (if indeed he does not mean Laporte's younger sister or sister-in-law) seems to imply that the fact that the troupe had an actress was something special or noteworthy.

As for the company of Italian players, we cannot be quite so precise. Drummond's heading "The Italien comedies at Burgess 21 of Septembr 1607" must mean comedies staged by an Italian company, especially in the light of what we can learn from the details of the plays themselves. It cannot mean Italian comedies put on by a French troupe, for the comedies turn out to be standard commedia dell' arte productions, which at this time were given only by Italian troupes. Valleran le Conte's French company, incidentally, were by the 21st of September almost certainly in Paris, preparing for their new season at the Hôtel de Bourgoyne, which was due to open on the 23rd of the month.¹

No troupe of commedia dell' arte players is known to have

1. Holsboer, op.cit., p. 347.

been touring France as early as September in 1607, but there is unfortunately a gap in the records of the principal companies during this period. In Drummond's day there were three or four active companies, which were patronized and to some measure supported by the princes and dukes of northern Italy. They were however free to travel, and they occasionally moved around on speculative tours both in Italy and abroad. They appeared frequently at the French court.

Thus the company known as the Accesi, which were supported by Duke Vincent de Gonzaga, left Mantua in November 1607 for France at the invitation of Marie de' Medici.¹ They played at the French court early in February of 1608, and on the sixteenth of that month they rented the theatre of the Hôtel de Bourgogne from its masters and governors.² They were thus in the position of rivals to troupes such as Valleran le Conte's.

Since the Accesi were still in Italy in September 1607, the company that Drummond saw at Bourges must have been either the Confidenti or the Uniti, or just possibly the Desiosi. The Gelosi had been disbanded in 1604 after the death of Isabella Andreini, and these three were the only other companies (besides the Accesi) still active. Nothing is known of the doings of the Desiosi after 1599, and nothing much of the Confidenti

1. Armand Baschet, Les Comédiens Italiens a la Cour de France (Paris, 1882), pp. 151-67.

2. Holsboer, op.cit., p. 348.

between 1599 and 1613.¹ Similarly there is a gap in the records of the Uniti between 1604 and 1613.² There is nothing to choose between the Confidenti and the Uniti: we are equally ignorant of the whereabouts of either in 1607, though there is no reason to suppose they could not have been in France.

We can be more positive about the actors that appeared in Bourges, and we can even go so far as to supply a few names. The players of the commedia dell' arte by custom specialized in one (or sometimes two) parts or masks, and they kept identifiable names which they used whatever company they were attached to at the time.³ The prima donna playing the role of lover might have the stage name Isabella (as did Isabella Andreini of the famous Gelosi) and her maid might habitually use the name Franceschina. Although the traditional parts or masks of the commedia dell' arte remained the same - Pantalone the old man, Gratiano the doctor or the Zanni their servants appearing in play after play - each actor might individualize his stock role by adopting his own stage name for the part. This was particularly practised by those actors and actresses who played the Zanni, the lovers, the maid and the captain. Knowing this custom we are often able to

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1. Vito Pandolfi, La Commedia dell' Arte (Firenze, 1957-61), II, 250-55.
 2. Pandolfi, IV, 449-50.
 3. See Kathleen M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), I, 17-128, for a description of the masks. Pandolfi also gives the names of the actors and actresses associated with them.

identify players from a cast list, for we can be certain that a stage name would not be used by more than one actor or actress at any one time.¹

Looking at the cast list that Drummond gives in passing for the first play he saw performed by the Italian troupe, we see that the major characters are Fulvio, the young lover; Isabella, his beloved; Pantalone, her father; Franceschina, her maid, and a Spanish captain, Captain Horatio. All these names would be the personal stage name of an actor or actress of the time, with the exception of Pantalone. To these we can also add Florenio and possibly Lesbia, which both occur in the fragment.

From this list we can guess the identity of two of the players: those who took the masks of Fulvio and Franceschina. Fulvio is certainly the actor Domenico Bruni, who for most of his recorded acting career belonged to the Confidenti.² Bruni is known to have specialized in the mask of the lover, but he could also play the doctor.³ It is significant that in the play that Drummond saw there was no part for a Doctor Gratiano, for it is unlikely that Bruni would have coped with two major roles in the same play - and Fulvio's part in the Bourges

1. Occasionally there was duplication, though not in the case of the masks used at Bourges, which at this time were only used by one actor or actress. See Lea, I, 257 et seq.

2. Pandolfi, II, 253.

3. Lea, I, 283.

performance was major. Knowing that Bruni was a member of the Confidenti in later years hardly helps us establish where the Confidenti were in 1607, and the owners of the two other masks only add to the mystery. In 1614, according to the records, the Uniti had a player who used the name Franceschina, the actor Ottavio Bernardini.¹ It is anyone's guess whether he was with the Confidenti in 1607 along with Bruni, or whether Bruni was in the Uniti along with him. It is reasonable to suppose that both were with one company or the other.

One other detail should be added to this discussion of the Italian troupes: Drummond's cast lists have many of the same masks as some of the plays in the famous collection by Flaminio Scala, who in his Il Teatro gives the masks and synopses of fifty commedia dell' arte plays.² Thus Li duo Capitani simili comedia has the characters Pantalone, Isabella, Franceschina and Oratio, who all appear again in Il fido amico comedia. Scholars have wondered whether Scala picked these masks because they were associated with his own company, which was the Confidenti, or whether instead he regarded them as typical masks, which he chose from among the leading players of all the companies. Drummond's evidence does not prove the case one way

1. Pandolfi, II, 254.

2. Il Teatro delle fauole rappresentatiue, ouero la ricreatione comica, boscareccia, e tragica ... (Venice, 1611).

or the other, and since his cast lists include some names not in Scala's (such as Flaminio and Lesbia) we may take Miss Lea's opinion as still valid, that is, that Scala picked his masks at random.¹

Judging by Drummond's somewhat laboured account, the plays that the Italian troupe put on in Bourges were quite ordinary commedia dell' arte productions. The first Drummond calls a "tragicomedie" - quite incorrectly, for it seems nothing but a comedy - and the next would appear to be another of the same kind (it may indeed be only a continuation of the first, but new characters are introduced). There are parts in the first play for six actors and three actresses. The normal complement of a troupe was seven or eight actors and three or four actresses, and most plays had parts in proportion.

The plot of the "tragicomedie" concerns the difficulties of an amorous young gentleman Fulvio to court his willing and surprisingly enterprising mistress, Isabella. They are frustrated by her father, Pantalone, a silly old man, by the ridiculous Captain Horacio, and of course, by fate. Fulvio in his difficulties goes mad, and so provides the action for the last half of the play, which is concerned with the search for his sanity.

The masks of the play would be the usual commedia dell' arte masks, and by Drummond's account all behaved in the traditional

1. Lea, I, 293.

manner. Pantalone was commonly played as a ridiculous old gentleman, long-winded, avaricious, and perhaps gullible. He was often a widower, and usually a Venetian. We cannot tell much from his behaviour as Drummond sees it; he has no wife, he seems to be a silly old man, and in the fragment of the second play he "passit hom to Venis." He is joined by another father, probably played in the same way by one of the actors who usually took the part of a servant or Zanni. Fulvio and Isabella are "straight" parts: they are called upon to behave as frustrated lovers, and the action of the play revolves around their misunderstandings. Fulvio becomes the stage fool in his madness, beating the company with a fool's bladders. Isabella's part is by no means a passive one, for in the tradition of the great prima donnas like Isabella Andreini, the actress is called upon to rescue the hero and bring the play to its happy end: she puts on a man's clothes, braves the Furies and beasts that guard the magic fountain, and brings back the magic water that cures Fulvio of his madness.

The other parts would have all been played for a laugh. Captain Horacio is a typical example of the braggart soldier, the boasting, loud-mouthed ranter, full of wind and short on courage. Like many players of this mask, the actor that Drummond heard spoke in Spanish: the most famous of Captains, Capitano Spavento (whose Bravure was printed up and sold to enthusiasts like Drummond)¹ was a Spaniard, and his boasts,

1. Francesco Andreini, Le bravure del Capitan Spavento della valle inferna. Library 1187.

whether amorous or military, were always outrageous.

Franceschina had the comic female part, the foil to the other scheming, witty servants, and though Drummond hardly mentions her the mask was probably played with much effect.¹ (When she refuses to answer the questions of Pantalone after Isabella's disappearance there is a hint of some comic acting - she "strak with her hels.") There is not much evidence of a large part in the play for the servant or Zanni; Fulvio's servant is the one example and he is only asked to run errands and arrange assignations, although he is allowed to carry on his own flirtation with his coequal, Franceschina. Drummond notes that he spoke in French and performed "many sports," so we can safely assume that he actually spent more time on the stage than would at first appear. There were usually two Zanni in each troupe; one taking the conniving, witty role of the prankster, the other playing the misunderstanding dolt, the country bumpkin or simple-minded fool. Drummond's "sports" would be the usual lazzi of the Zanni - antics, gambols, horse-play - practical jokes played in this instance in the absence of a partner upon the master.² Drummond gives one example of a Zanni's wit:

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1. The part here was played by a man, as was commonly the case, if Ottavio Bernardini was in the company at Bourges.
 2. The term lazzi was also used to describe the formal pantomimes performed to demonstrate love, jealousy, fear, etc., and may be referred to by Drummond in his frequent descriptions of the players "schewing" this and that emotion. For a discussion of lazzi see Lea, I, 66-71.

Fulvio's servant tells Isabella what must have been a long story about Fulvio being shot at by his enemy with a long arquebus. Isabella screams. "No sayith he but the bullets vent by him."

From Drummond's note that this Zanni spoke in French we might guess that he was a local comedian, recruited especially for the French tour. The commedia dell' arte players occasionally joined with other actors in times of need,¹ and a little native wit would surely be popular in such a provincial place as Bourges. Of course the Zanni might have learned some French on a previous tour in France; the commedia dell' arte players traditionally exploited dialect and language for its humour.

There is very little in Drummond's account on the staging of the Italian plays. We must suppose that they were put on on a rough temporary stage (or "scaffold"), probably in the open air.² It is unlikely that if Bourges had a hall big enough the players would have been allowed to use it, especially since the local Jesuits were opposed to their appearance. The stage would have had a back curtain (which Drummond in his notes on the other plays calls a "siparium") behind which players might enter and exit, although they were more likely to do this from the side of the stage. The company's props seem to have been unelaborate

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1. Raymond Lebègue, "La Comedie e Italienne en France au XVI^e Siècle," Revue de Littérature Comparée, XXIV (1950), 5-24.
 2. Holsboer, L'Histoire de la Mise en Scène dans le Théâtre Français de 1600 à 1657 (Paris, 1933), pp. 32-3.

and crude, although admittedly it would have been difficult to have been ambitious on tour in the provinces. When (in the fragment of the second play) Lesbia went to bath herself she was transformed into a dog; this was represented, Drummond said, by a painted cloth. And when the unnamed hero returned from braving the Fury he showed his wounded shoulder - "quhilk vas cuninglie done be a esponge."

It is fortunate that Drummond neglected the Italian troupe in favour of the French players, for information on the commedia dell' arte is abundant and accurate, while that on the early French theatre is much less so. The French official and municipal records show the names of the actors in their routine contacts with authority; their movements and contracts, their licenses, and occasionally such facts as the hiring or selling of costumes or properties.¹ Not so much, however, is known about the plays that the actors performed, for only a selection were printed, and it is not always certain that the plays that were printed were the plays that were acted.

In fact, most of the pieces presented at Bourges seem to have been home-made, put together for a working repertory by the players themselves to suit the occasion. Drummond's notes let us see the shape of this repertory - the introductions by the prologue, the tragedy, tragicomedy or pastoral, the concluding farce; rough and ready stuff, composed for the most part of

1. Holsboer, "Vie d'Alexandre Hardy," loc.cit., pp. 347 et seq.

equal measures of melodrama and simple foolery. We may compare the French comedians to the troupe of players that served Hamlet in Elsinore; they could put on a show for every occasion, patch and mend this, insert that speech, cut the cloth to please the trade. They were professionals, and Drummond's account of their performance is all the more valuable for its completeness.

As we saw earlier, Valleran le Conte had four actors with him in the first half of 1607, and having so few was probably restricted to playing farce. With the addition of Laporte and his wife to the troupe that September in Bourges Valleran could be more ambitious; particularly, using Marie Venier, he could take on plays with major female parts. All the main plays that Drummond saw the troupe perform have a leading role for the prima donna, and some of them, such as the pastoral, suggest that there was at least one other woman in the company, although certainly the second female part could have been taken by the young apprentice actor, Estienne de Ruffin. The main plays have five, six, or seven parts each - quite suitable for a company of seven - with the exception of the pastoral which has sixteen or more. But here the cast must have been prepared to play both men and gods, for no more than seven are on the stage at any one time.

The plays were usually introduced by a prologue, whose speeches, though long, do not always seem pertinent to the plays themselves. They discourse on hope, on love as a suitable subject for a play, on the utility of recreation and the merits

of a comedy in providing it, they defend the comedy and praise love. Twice the discourse is related directly to the subject of the play; in the seventh play, with a speech against presumption; in the pastoral, with a speech in praise of love and ladies.

As given by Drummond, these speeches follow no discernible rhetorical pattern, even of an elementary model such as taught by Aphthonius,¹ although a few ordinary rhetorical tricks are used. The prologue commonly proceeds from a simple statement of his proposition with a definition of the quality discussed - love, recreation, or presumption - its properties and effects, and examples from authority, ancient, modern or Biblical. Plato is referred to, as are Cicero and Montaigne.

If the speeches have little or no connection with the following plays, they do seem to have a relevance to the audience in Bourges. It would surely be necessary to defend the profane subject of love to an audience admonished by the Jesuits, who had strong views on what was suitable for showing on the stage. (The Jesuits supported their own kind of theatre, but their plays were usually in Latin, had a sacred subject, and had nothing to do with either love or women.²) Again, the comedy itself needed defending, which, as Drummond noted in the

1. Cf. Chapter II, above, pp. 74 et seq.

2. Ernest Boyssse, Le Théâtre des Jésuites (Paris, 1880), pp. 18 et seq. This is discussed below, pp. 122 et seq.

prologue's own words "many thinkith a hurtful thing to the yuth." These many were answered by reference to the ancients who had so revered their comedians - "if anay can be so bold to accuse the comedie let se if he be equal to Cicero father of eloquence quho in the defence of Archias hath ansuerit to such poet mastikes." Actors were neither respectable nor successful: desperately defending the necessity of recreation, its clear distinction from idleness, and the comedy's part in providing it in useful, moral and instructive parts, the prologue complained "of the smal number of auditeurs," and ended his lecture by cursing the dissidents. It seems that few gave cause for excommunication that year in Bourges.

From Drummond's description of the plays themselves it is difficult to identify them with any known, printed works of the time. Drummond gives no dialogue except in the farces, and his grasp of the plot appears at times to be shaky. We have no way of telling what the language of the plays was like - although it was probably in verse - and often we are even ignorant of the names of the characters. Drummond, after all, had been in France just a year, and his understanding of French would have then been much less than perfect.

Of the ten pieces presented by Valleran le Conte and his troupe we have in effect only six plays: three tragedies, a pastoral, and two tragicomedies. The first and last tragedy and the pastoral were given on one day each; the other three plays were put on over two days each. One play, the "comedie" of the

ninth day, was unrecorded by Drummond, but he gives us two for the eighth day.

The first play is the tragedy of the princess who being betrothed to one man loves another. This may well have been a favourite tragedy of the French players at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for one version which closely matches Drummond's account was printed in Rouen in 1613, and although the author is unknown, we might guess that the play had been written for a troupe like Valleran's, or at least had been in their repertory for some years. This Rouen tragedy was called Axiane ou l'amour clandestin, in which, as the title-page continued, "se remarque la ruze d'un Amant, qui accepte la mort de sa maistresse, au prix de la vie de son Rival."¹ The source of Axiane is unknown. The edition of Rouen came out with quaint illustrations, and no scenic divisions. The scholar Henry Lancaster's synopsis of the play adds only a few details to Drummond's notes.

The King of Bohemia wishes to reward the Duke of Saxony for the military services he has rendered, by marrying him to his daughter, but the latter obtains a delay of a year in which to mourn her dead brother and proposes to elope with the Duke of Medina, whom she loves. Saxony learns of this affair and asks Axiane to give him a token of her affection. Hearing that it is to be a chain, Medina borrows and poisons it. When Saxony unwraps it, he asks Axiane to kiss it and then kisses it himself. Both die, but Axiane has time to tell her father that Medina has had the chain in his possession. Confronted with this

1. Lancaster, I, 85.

evidence and the testimony of the nurse to whom he had entrusted the chain, Medina confesses and stabs himself.¹

The main difference between this Axiane and the play that Drummond saw lies in the character and behaviour of the heroine. Valleran's troupe made their Axiane the villainess; in Lancaster's synopsis she is an innocent victim, whose only fault is that her love is for the wrong man. The Medina of Bourges is the dupe of a wicked woman; the Medina of the printed play is a ruthless murderer. Lancaster comments on two dramatic highlights in the printed version: one, when Medina gives the chain to the nurse, who not knowing it is poisoned, begins to unwrap it; the second, when Axiane pretends to see an extraordinary resemblance between her dead brother and Medina. Neither of these scenes is noticed in Drummond's account.

We may draw this conclusion from the appearance of Axiane at Bourges in 1607 and its printing at Rouen in 1613: the details of both versions are similar enough for us to assume that it was the same play, but we must also suppose, since the emphasis in characterization is so different, that the play was changed from year to year while it was in the repertory of the players. In 1607 Valleran had with him as we have seen an excellent actress in Marie Venier, and the script might have been altered to suit her talents. Since the other plays that the troupe presented also emphasize the prima donna's role, this speculation may be justified.

1. Ibid.

As Drummond himself noted, the play staged on the second and third day had its source in Ariosto. It is a dramatic rendering of the tale of Gabrina from Book 21 of the Orlando Furioso, a wicked, wicked woman, who deceives and murders two husbands, and what is more, proves to be in league with the devil. The players treated their analogues with a great deal of freedom; here, not content with the sinfulness of Gabrina, they made their dreadful queen an "adultrous thrice-foule."

Apart from this repetition of Gabrina's crime, which gave the players two plays for the price of one, there is however little changed in this plot. The queen (Gabrina) as in Ariosto contrives to have her honest lover murder her husband, and afterwards, growing tired of him and his scruples, she schemes to have him murdered too. In the play she then takes on a third husband, who for the climax of the second part is killed by the brother of Philander (that is, the second, honest, scrupulous husband).¹ Her nature, however, is as nasty as Ariosto's Gabrina, and like Gabrina, we discover at the last curtain that she is in fact a practising witch.

Valleran and his troupe made a few additions to the story. They brought in the ghost of Arges the king (the first murdered husband) at the beginning of the second part, though unlike Hamlet's father the ghost only prophesies his unlucky murderer's tragic death. They introduce two new characters in Polyphilus

1. The play has nothing to do with Gilbert Giboin's Amours de Philandre et Maris  e; see Lancaster, I, 124-5.

and Philander's brother, and with these they were able to spin out the piece to the end of a second day. They omitted the complications of the apothecary's fate - in Ariosto the unhappy man was murdered by Gabrina to cover her tracks. The last scene as staged at Bourges was in the best tradition of bloody tragedy: the wicked couple in bed, the revenge of the honest brother, the queen's escape (in a cloud of smoke?) with her pack of demons.

As Drummond tells it - and his account seems trustworthy - the tragedy is crude and melodramatic. The queen is lust and evil personified, who steps on unfeeling and unthinking (as Gabrina did) from one horrid crime to the next. It is as though Lady Macbeth, being bored in bed, had taken to murdering husbands instead of promoting them, but a Lady Macbeth, we must add, without a human touch. This queen has no Shakespearean complications in her character, she has appetite, but no conscience. Her men are poor fools that surrender to her tricks and her desire. With what seems misplaced aptness the subject of the prologue to this tragedy was the dominion of love.

The play that was staged on the fourth day was a pastoral. It is a simple, rather primitive work, an example of what Jules Marsan termed the pastorale mythologique,¹ with the main plot of shepherds and shepherdesses accompanied by a story from Olympus.

1. Jules Marsan, La Pastorale Dramatique en France (Paris, 1905), p. 245.

There is nothing at all in the play that is out of keeping with the known history of the pastoral at this time in France.

Pastorals were by 1607 included in the repertory of the French troupe as a matter of course. The taste for them had come from Italy, both from literary works, such as Sannazaro's Arcadia, Tasso's Aminta or Guarini's Pastor Fido, and from staged pieces occasionally put on by the Italian companies. French writers had not contented themselves with translating Italian pastorals, but had produced many themselves, and had drawn added inspiration from such Spanish successes as Montemayor's Diana. Of the twenty or so original literary pastorals published before 1607 Drummond had in his library at least three: by Ollenix du Mont Sacré, by La Vallettrie and by Gautier, as well as French translations of the pastorals of Sannazaro, Luigi Groto and Guarini.¹ To cater for the growing popularity of the genre the comedians staged their own pastorals, but judging by Drummond's notes of the one he saw these owed little to literary works.

The plot of Valleran's pastoral rests on the simplest of amorous misunderstandings: two shepherds woo two shepherdesses, are rebuffed, forswear love, and in turn reject their lovers when the situation is reversed. Matters are only a little complicated by an unruly satyr, and after advice is given by two

1. Library 1120, 1052, 1083 and 1148, 1058, 1059. Cf. Marsan, pp. 504-7.

senior citizens of Arcadia to the young couples, their difficulties are finally resolved in a last appeal to the goddess of love. As a running subplot we are shown the story of Mars and Venus, and of Vulcan's appeal to his fellow gods. This kind of mythological echo was common in the pastoral tradition, though in keeping with the simplicity of the whole play it seems somewhat gratuitous here.

One would not expect to find any direct analogue to this pastoral - it has all the marks of a hack work written by the players themselves for their own use - but one play, Alexandre Hardy's L'Amour victorieux ou vengé, is remarkably similar. Considering this prolific playwright's importance in the history of the early French theatre, the similarity is especially interesting. The bones of Hardy's play are very like the pastoral Drummond saw, though L'Amour victorieux is more elaborate. Hardy has no story of Mars and Venus; his mythology is a dispute between the rival forces of chastity and love, Diana and Venus, and is linked with much more point to the action of the shepherds. But in both plays we have two shepherds wooing their lovers to no purpose, and the shepherdesses being made to regret their coldness by being forced to love those who now in turn spurn them. An oracle orders that one shepherdess be sacrificed unless her shepherd love her, and only when he at last relents is the sacrifice avoided. The couples marry praising the goddess of love, and Cupid comes on the stage to explain the

moral.¹ Hardy's shepherdesses are called Lycine and Adamante;² Valleran's Licina and Rodamante.

This correspondence between the two plays may be more than co-incidence. Hardy's play has been dated to some time between the years 1615 and 1625,³ and his source is unknown. He was associated with Valleran le Conte's troupe during much of his active life, and he probably wrote some of his plays for the company during the period they were known as the Comédiens du roi.⁴ It thus seems likely that his L'Amour victorieux is a refurbishing or a rewriting on a piece that was in the repertory of Valleran's troupe; new flesh on old bones.

The play acted on the fifth and sixth days was a tragicomedy (as Drummond noted) from Bandello. The source appears in the second half of the thirty-sixth story of the second part of Bandello's Novels,⁵ which tells the history of the loves of the Duchess of Turin. As Bandello has it, the Duchess is a bored young beauty, weary of her impotent old husband, who falls in love with the handsome Spanish knight, Don Juan, Duke of Mendoza, and goes on pilgrimage to Spain on the off-chance of seeing him.

1. Marsan, pp. 245-6.

2. Marsan, p. 245.

3. Lancaster, I, 45.

4. See Holsboer, "Vie d'Alexandre Hardy," loc.cit., pp. 351 et seq.

5. The novella is called Amore di don Giovanni de Mendoza e della duchessa di Savoia. Drummond's "Mandos" is an approximation of the French "Mandosse."

Her husband, praising her piety and suspecting nothing, collects her from the shrine and after taking her home to Turin, goes to fight a war, leaving her in the charge of the unscrupulous but stupid Count of Pancalieri. The count attempts to seduce the Duchess, and after she repulses him, contrives to have her put in prison on the suspicion of adultery. She is due to be executed in a year and a day, unless she can find a champion to defend her virtue. With the help of a pair of young lovers (the physician Appiana and his Guila) she sends to Spain for Don Juan, who comes, establishes her innocence and defeats the Count in single combat, before retiring without revealing his identity. The Duke her husband conveniently dies, both the Duchess and Don Juan proceed separately to England, where eventually all misunderstandings are resolved, and the lovers marry with the royal blessing of the King of England.¹

The French players kept to Bandello's story in most details, though they cut out a few characters such as the young lovers, gave the Duchess an old gentlewoman companion by way of replacement, and omitted the pilgrimage to Spain. The real changes in the staged version are in characterization. The Duchess in Bandello is technically pure, but chaste only by accident; circumstance alone keeps her from Don Juan's arms. Valleran's Duchess has no adulterous thoughts; she is much more

1. See the translation by John Payne, Villon Soc. (London, 1890), V, 8-45.

sinned against than sinning. This makes her imprisonment more dramatic - virtue in chains, innocence maligned - but it makes "Mandos's" appearance motiveless. Don Juan is an honest man, but not one to turn down a willing and beautiful woman; "Mandos" is the disinterested knight, loving at a distance, ever-ready to rescue an innocent in distress. And out of the doltish Count whose simple lust and stupidity led him into treachery, the players made a calculating Regent, a monster worthy of the stage.

Valleran and his troupe were not alone in dramatising this tale from Bandello. In 1597 a tragicomedy named La Polyxene by one Jean Behourt was published,¹ and if at first this priority in date would seem to suggest that it was the source for the Bourges play, a closer examination shows no connection between the two. Behourt's play is literary and verbose, with a cast of nineteen plus a chorus. It opens with a lengthy prayer for peace spoken by a character appropriately called Irenophile - Behourt weighed his work down with a number of such personified qualities - and continues through five acts which are full of dialogue though short on action. La Polyxene is hardly stageable: all the action takes place in the last two acts, and the heroine's character is impossibly inconsistent, for she vacillates between lust and chastity. There is clearly no link between this gentlemanly invention and the piece Drummond saw.

1. Henry C. Lancaster, The French Tragi-Comedy (repr. New York, 1966), pp. 65-8.

The last play on which Drummond took full notes was staged on the seventh and eighth days. Drummond states that it is a continuation of the previous play, but his remark just does not make sense. The characters are different, and the plot bears no relation to Bandello's story. Neither in Bandello nor elsewhere have I been able to find a source for the play. By this stage in his entertainment Drummond was flagging. His description of the action has become quite incoherent, and it is harder than ever for the reader to sort out what the piece is about. Half way through the second day Drummond gives up in disgust, and complaining that the actors violate decorum by spinning out the story over so many days, he leaves them (not before time, one might say) to their discourses.

Looking over all of the plays, and allowing for Drummond's failings both with the language and as a reporter, it is difficult not to suppose that they are anything but hack pieces, put on by professional comedians for an undemanding audience. They were probably written for the repertory of the troupe by the actors themselves - Laporte is known to have written a number of plays, though all are now lost.¹ French theatre was still backward and unhonoured compared to the sophistication of Italy, England or Spain, and these plays show it. In many ways they are closer to the Medieval stage than the Renaissance: the habit of staging journées or plays put on over two or three days, the

1. Lancaster, History, V, 14.

long-winded, didactic prologues, the disregard of moral instruction at the expense of melodrama; all these disappear during the revival of French theatre later in the century. The presentation of characters as little more than abstractions of a vice or a virtue - such as the queen modelled on Gabrina - is only a short step from the morality plays. Drummond, who probably knew Sir David Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis¹ - he had it in his library - might well have felt more at home in Bourges than in London. There are a few conventions in the French plays culled from the classics, such as the ever-present nurse or companion of the heroine, but on the whole we need not look for an ancient model. To borrow the words of Pierre de l'Estoile, these plays are "gauffe et mal fait, digne d'un bouffon et comœdien."

We now come to the six farces that Drummond saw. In her recent work on the French farce of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,² Barbara Bowen regrets that our knowledge of the farces regularly performed by the comedians at such theatres as the Hôtel de Bourgogne is necessarily limited, for such farces were seldom printed. We can guess what the farces were like, for we know the tradition that they sprang from, and

1. Library 1371.

2. Barbara Bowen, Les Caractéristiques Essentielles de la Farce Française et leur Survivance dans les années 1550-1620, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature (Urbana, 1964), pp. 169 et seq.

we have some details of later productions. Yet we lack a precise knowledge of farce at this particular stage in its development, and what we do know (to use Miss Bowen's phrase) of "la survivance orale" depends on what little we can gather from the written records.

Farce was far from dead in 1607, and our lack of texts from this period should not obscure its popularity. The actors known as Gros Guillaume, Gaultier-Garguille (who was probably with Valleran at Bourges)¹ and Turlupin won great fame for themselves as farceurs;² all three were contemporaries of Drummond. Some of the pieces they played have survived, but many of their successes are known only by name. Nothing at all is known of the productions of Valleran or Laporte, and this is regrettable, for these two are recognized as the first French actors about whom anything very much at all is known. The French theatre in the seventeenth century was to become supreme in Europe;³ its beginnings are often now obscure. We might suppose that Valleran and Laporte relied for their daily bread upon their talents as farceurs, but hitherto we have had nothing on which to judge them. Into this void we can now set the details supplied by Drummond.

French farce had a long and honourable history before the

1. See above, p. 88.

2. Bowen, pp. 177 et seq.

3. See Lancaster, History, V, 3-24.

year 1607, and there has been much scholarship devoted to this history. The Répertoire of Petit de Julleville lists more than two hundred extant pieces of the Middle Ages,¹ and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are almost as fruitful a period.² Farce was a flourishing tradition, and it was on this tradition that the comedians of the seventeenth century were content to draw. There is little sign in the pieces put on at Bourges of borrowings from the commedia dell' arte,³ and none at all of literary influence, whether inspired by the classics or the Italians, whether in the writings of the Pléiade or in the translations of Larivey. These farces were of indigenous stock.

The usual French farce of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century was a short and uncomplicated production, written in eight syllable verse, seldom running to more than four hundred lines. It was played by a small cast - three or four actors perhaps, almost never over six - and was often restricted to a single scene. Few props were needed. The plots were simple, turning on situations provoked by deceptions, cuckoldry or confidence-tricks. The characters were fools and

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1. L. Petit de Julleville, Histoire du theatre en France. Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen âge (Paris, 1886).
 2. See Bowen's bibliographie choisie, pp. 203-12.
 3. Though in the sixth play (the seventh day's "comédie") there is "a proud Spanisch captane thretning the earth at eurerie pase." The Spanish captain was a favourite mask of the commedia dell' arte.

their masters, rogues, willing wives and silly old husbands. The jokes were on the crude side, the matter was often indecent, and blows or horseplay were the usual conclusion to each encounter.¹

The seven farces Drummond saw conform to the usual conventions of the genre.

Their themes are cuckoldry (in four of the pieces), country clownishness and confidence tricks. They need casts of four, five or six players, and only one, the sixth, takes place in more than one scene. Although they do not seem to have extant sources, they are all based upon familiar situations common to many farces, and they use jokes and devices that are quite traditional. The most interesting parts of Drummond's account of them are his details of stage business and dialogue. The jokes he often garbles; he is a more faithful reporter of the clowning.

Drummond never says that he laughed at the play, but from his sober relation we can see that the fooling must have been funny. In the first farce is a scene that may still be found in the circus ring or at the pantomime: the fight between the brave man and the coward. "Get up and I'll fight you," says the one, "for I'll never kill a man that's lying down." "If that's the case," says the other, "I'm staying where I am." And as soon as the one gives up in disgust the other jumps up and hits him - then lies down again in a hurry. In the same play is a fight

1. Bowen, pp. 25-78; Lancaster, History, I, 19.

between two cowards - another favourite comic turn in literature or farce (Sidney used it in the Arcadia in the combat between Clinias and Dametas, Book III, Chap. 13). There are plenty of beatings, indeed, three of the farces end with the scapegoat - servant, rogue or amoureux - being beaten off the stage. A scene in the fifth farce combines two traditional pieces of clowning, where the servant Jacques keeps interrupting the lovers, and to be rid of him they blindfold him. In the farce Pernet qui va au vin the same joke is played out at length, with Pernet popping in and out of the room while the lovers break apart at each intrusion.¹

The farces turning on cuckoldry traditionally showed two kinds of lovers, one timid, one bold, and made the most out of the comic possibilities of each. The timid amoureux (as in these farces) is a ridiculous old captain - no fool like an old fool - who is no sooner admitted to his mistress' chamber than comes a knock on the door. He must needs escape or disguise himself, and as escape proves impossible, he hides as a corpse, a target or a parrot. The bold lover gets the laughs at the expense of his victim, who, poor man, lest the audience lose the point, leaves the stage with someone behind him "demonstrating his head vith too fingers."

The sixth of the farces is (at least in Drummond's version) both the funniest and the most ambitious. In it are two set

1. Bowen, p. 20.

pieces which give the comedians great scope for elaborate clowning: the anatomy and the interview of the parrot. The anatomy is a scene that is still brought out to shock and amuse, and it certainly was not new in Valleran's day. The surgeon has a corpse to dissect, but the corpse is his wife's new lover caught visiting with no place to hide but the anatomy table. The surgeon arranges his instruments, fiddles with the anaesthetic, pulls on his gloves, calls for forceps. He has obviously been drinking. He rips off the patient's shirt, takes up the scalpel, and is about to make his first, huge, incision, when ... when the telephone rings - or as it was on the stage at Bourges "ther com a page quho desyrit him al hast to come to a dame quhom of he must by and by draw blud."

Less melodramatic but more comic is the interview with the supposed parrot. The honest old innkeeper comes home to find his wife with a new pet, a talking parrot in a covered cage. A rare and valuable bird, it needs careful handling, and will only speak in the dark. The innkeeper, down on his knees, implores it to talk, and it says a few words in a quiet voice. The wife is wringing her hands in the background. He pleads: "parot royal" "parot royal" and in a loud and unmistakable male voice the bird answers "cuckow cuckow." Revealed under the cloth is the wife's lover, who with some fast thinking quickly convinces the foolish old innkeeper he has actually been a parrot, and has just this minute been turned back into a

man.¹

We must regret that Valleran and his troupe did not postpone their visit to Bourges until the following year, for by then Drummond would have had time to improve his French. He has a few lines of dialogue in his accounts, but what he missed must have been worth more than what he caught. In the second farce he makes a mess of a variation of the old chestnut "Who was Edmund's son's father?," and some other anecdotes seem in his rendering to have lost their point. But judging by what Drummond did understand, the players's wit was simple and crude. Much of the third farce hangs on a series of jokes about an ass - many an ass can be seen in women's company, many an ass can be seen at the play - and much of the fourth farce turns on the problem of where a woman's honesty lies. Though Drummond seems a little muddled here the answers were no doubt indecent. We have one piece of fooling based on repetition - a certain comic device² - when the bumpkin in the third farce asks question after question about the coins he had been promised by the rogue, and the catechism is lent point by the audience's sure knowledge that the poor fellow will never see a penny. We have a ridiculous

1. In Della Porta's comedy Il Moro one character gains access to his mistress disguised as a giant turkey-parrot, but is discovered and flung out of the window. See Louise G. Clubb, Giambattista Della Porta, Dramatist (Princeton, 1965), pp. 214-5.

2. It was much used in the commedia dell' arte. Lea, I, 194-5.

schoolmaster in the second farce mouthing dog-Latin,¹ and some mockery of stage wooing as the bumpkin despairingly declaims "O hurish loue. O my bonnet." In the fifth farce the impudent servant tells his master not to have so much meat bought "for ye haue a good veal head of your aune" This, in the best tradition of farce, is the cue for a comic beating.

In the first farce Drummond took down some of the dialogue in French, and in these few lines the jokes turn upon puns and dialect. The old captain, fallen in love again, continues his discussion of love; his servant accompanies his pomposities with simple-minded misunderstanding. Love "est compose de quater choses. He thinking it vas chouses ansuerit it vas vinter then. Less quater choses son les quater elemens. Il boira bien donc si il e compose de quater alemans" Later it seems some fun is made of the wife's Picardy accent. Though it would be dangerous to assume too much from Drummond's rendering, these passages are not in verse, and so may have been interpolated into the farce.

In this description of the plays put on by Valleran and his troupe, we have not yet mentioned their last day's work in Bourges. Drummond's notes on this tragedy and farce are separated from the rest of his account, and in his title he seems

1. The pedant was a favourite target in both farce and literature of the time: Drummond noticed two examples in his reading; in Pierre de Larivey's Le laquais, and in Sidney's The Lady of May. See above, p. 26.

to have made a mistake, for he calls this "The acht" (the eighth day's comedy) when in fact he has already given us an "acht days comedie." The tragedy is "the tragedie of Pyrrus," and from the extremely short description of it all we can deduce is that it was a dramatization of the classical story of Pyrrhus (or Neoptolemus), his murder and the abduction of his wife Hermione by Orestes. Euripides' Andromache gives the details; Valleran's source was probably the French literary version by Jean Heudon, whose Pyrrhe had been printed in a collection at Rouen by Du Petit Val in 1599.¹ We are given a few more details about the farce presented the same day, which for a chief joke has the clever servant outwit the young lover, by persuading him to climb into a bag in the hope of being taken to his mistress. The servant delivers him instead to the butcher, and sells him as a pig in a poke.

Before ending this examination of Drummond's notes on the theatre, we should notice his account of a play he saw performed by the young students at the Jesuit college in Bourges in November of 1607. The play was a tragedy titled "Marcus Manlius Capitolinus," and was given in Latin.

Though the Jesuits disapproved of the professional theatre, and had tried this same year to stop Valleran and Laporte and their troupe from acting in the town, they did encourage their

1. According to Raymond Lebègue, Pyrrhe was notable for its horror scenes. Lebègue, La Tragedie Francaise de la Renaissance (Brussels, 1944), p. 78.

own particular form of drama. This drama was above all moral and edifying: the plays were usually tragedies, their subjects drawn either from Church history, the Scriptures, or Greek and Roman history. The Jesuits wrote their own plays, and their students put them on under direction. The plays were always in Latin, and although occasionally mothers, wives or virgin martyrs were admitted, they had no female characters. One Jesuit ratio studiorum made the following pronouncement (this is dated 1683, but is valid for 1607):

Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas nonnisi latinas ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quidquam actibus interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum; nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducatur.¹

There were two sorts of tragedy in the Jesuit theatre; one, the major, was in five acts, and was played by the students of rhetoric before a prize-giving ceremony, the other, the minor, was in three acts, and was put on by junior students on holidays.² "Marcus Manlius" was of the first type.

Having attended the professional comedians in their whole season of plays - he could afford to risk excommunication - Drummond went over to the rival camp. His account tells us little of the nature of what he saw. It is in Latin, and it gives briefly the story of Marcus Manlius, then a synopsis of all five acts of the tragedy, with a sentence or two added to each to

1. Boysse, p. 18, et passim.

2. Boysse, pp. 28-29.

describe the speeches of the chorus. As he gives it, "Marcus Manlius" is adapted from Livy,¹ and since there are a number of similarities between Livy's language and the synopsis, it would seem that the writer of the latter had his eye on Livy while composing the tragedy.² In its subject, nature and occasion, "Marcus Manlius" agrees with what is known about the Jesuit theatre.

At the end of his notes Drummond has a few sentences in Scots describing the tableaux put on during the intervals between the acts of this play. The ratio studiorum quoted above pronounced against any frivolities of this nature, though since these particular tableaux were presented as a part of the play itself, and since they were on the same subject, they were probably considered acceptable. Drummond's description shows how these four tableaux, if they were given between the four acts, might be used to prefigure the action and add to the dramatic tension. We might also notice the way these were staged - the wounds shown as a bloody shirt, the capitol made of paper, the siparium or curtain used to hide the body. The play seems to have been staged in or adjacent to a tennis court.

The first barane [barren] schow vas Manlius schouing his vounds quhilk vas a bludie shirt vnder his dublit. The [second?] the triumph of the dictator quhair ok in sum lauril sum bay crns [crowns] var [borne scored out] caried. The thrie the capitol quhilk vas mad a litil high courd

1. Livy, Book V, Chap. 47 and Book VI, Chap. 11 et seq.

2. I am indebted to Hugh F. Cullen for this opinion.

[covered] vith papers and grin flours. The last the throwing of Manlius from the top of the capitol vich vas the fusts [?] of a teniss court quhair he leep and vas kepptit vnder the siparium on a bed or such lik (f. 68v).¹

In the section of his notes he devotes to the theatre, Drummond tells us much, and he leaves us wishing he had told us more. We learn that another Italian troupe visited France in 1607, and we have an account of one play which they performed. We can identify some of the actors that came with the troupe. We have the full repertory of the French comedians from tragedy to farce, and we are able to add many important details to a rather obscure part of French theatrical history. But we are ignorant of so much that Drummond could have told us: how the plays were staged, how the actors dressed, what the audience applauded. We may guess that the French troupe like the Italians put their plays on in the open air, on a rough stage with a back curtain. Drummond mentions this curtain once in his account of the second day's "comédie," where it seems to have been used for "noises off." For the rest we are left guessing.

We know that Valleran used quite elaborate scenery in the permanent theatre of the Hôtel de Bourgogne; on the 22nd September he commissioned a painter, one Jehan du Val, to "exécuter les décors nécessaires pendant la durée du bail pour 'les comedies, les tragecomédies, les pastoralles et autres

1. Drummond's scrawl is worse than usual in this passage, but the sense of the last sentence seems to be that Manlius was thrown from the top ridge [fust, see OED] of the tennis court, and caught on a bed behind the curtain.

jeuz.'"¹ On his travels Valleran was probably less demanding. Drummond tells us nothing about costumes; we must assume that the players would have worn their usual costumes on tour. Valleran is recorded as having sold certain costumes to his apprentice Estienne de Ruffin shortly before leaving Paris for the tour.² Musical instruments were also in the deal - if they were used at Bourges Drummond does not mention it. The plays needed some props: swords and armour, a bed, a table, a bow and a shepherd's crook, and a parrot cage, but nothing more elaborate. In the pastoral a little dog joins the cast; whether alive or stuffed, Drummond does not say.

Besides what they tell us of the French theatre, these notes of Drummond have another importance: they are the only considerable prose piece we have of his that is written in Scots. Drummond in his lifetime saw the decline and near extinction of Scots as a literary language, and his own conversion to English was symptomatic of this change. He was born in 1585, and grew up while the Scottish sonneteers were still writing. When James and the court moved to London it became unfashionable to compose in Scots; Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert Aytoun, Sir Robert Kerr and the other Scots gentlemen with literary ambitions abandoned their own tongue and imitated the ways of their neighbours. In 1607 Drummond was just twenty-two and his voice

1. Holsboer, "Vie d'Alexandre Hardy," p. 347.

2. Ibid.

was still his own; three or four years later he too adopted English.

It cannot have been easy for him. His notes on the theatre at Bourges are pure Scots, in vocabulary, spelling and usage (see the transcript of selections in Appendix 1). He has words like "speir" or "a cluter of cadrons" which would not be understood south of the border; he employs the Scots "y" and the "qu" spellings; he uses Scots constructions such as "he vald to the hunts and he villit the vther bridil him his Curlo." In spite of the obvious haste in which he wrote his notes, his language is not unliterary, and there are passages - such as the beginning of the first French "comédie" - where he seems to have made an effort to balance and shape his phrases.

The last impression that Drummond leaves us with is of himself: the young provincial Scot taking notes at great length of the comedians and their plays. We must be thankful that he was so undemanding, so unsophisticated, so painstaking. His more travelled contemporaries would have scorned these rough professionals, or limited their applause to a bravo at the end of the performance, and a note in their diary that Valleran was on form that night. Drummond scribbled down all that he could understand, and only despaired on the eighth day, when he was given to complain that the comedians were "tediuss." If he had been more discriminating we would still not have known what the provincial season was like in Bourges in 1607.

CHAPTER IV

DRUMMOND'S DEMOCRITIE

1. Jests and apophthegms

The first section of MS 2060 has the elaborate title "Democritie. A labyrinth of delight or worke preparatiue for the apologie of Democritus. Containing pasquills apotheames impresas anagrames epitaphes epigrames of this and the late age before."¹ For the next hundred leaves or so the Democritie continues, a confused and occasionally illegible accumulation of jokes and fancies in verse and prose, till it peters out among the anagrams of "the late age before." Most of the items are in English, and most of the rest in French - or with their "punch" lines in French; some are in Italian, some in Latin and a very few in Spanish. They are arranged in some sort of rough order, with jokes on the same subject generally in the one place, though as the years went on and the additions grew Drummond abandoned what system he had.

The Democritie has been neglected by scholars, and on first sight it seems quite worthy of neglect. David Laing, in his "Extracts from the Hawthornden manuscripts," (1857)² did print a

1. See the selection in Appendix 2. All references to folio numbers in the text of this chapter are to this volume.

2. Laing, IV, 78-82.

PLATE VII. The title-page of the Democritie
 (MS 2060, f. 1r)

Demotifia

This booke is full of
 mirie jests and ieries
 to gather with a chancellors
 speach and verses upon it
 reare the middle of this
 booke) at the end there is
 a litle of the Genealogie of
 the house of brammond

Zabzynth of Delight.

or

Booke preparatiue for the apologie
 of Demotifus.

containing the
 Basileus
 Apologues

in the as

Anagramas

epitaphes in

Epigramas

france Italians Spanische
 Latine

of light and light to be ascribed.

Ande aliquid brambus Gyazis et carere

Dignum

Si vidisse aliquis. proleto laudatur et
 alyet.

Vit. 4. Hominum Ludo. Fortuna.

Si Sapor in doctus od ipsum in 2. 3. 2. 2.

Za Güerette.

Patientia y Barajar.

Campus Kenneby. tamphomus

H

ELEVTEROPOLI.

FreeBzongh.

selection of five pages of jests and epitaphs, but there is no record of anyone else paying further attention to it. The manuscript is admittedly daunting. Drummond's hand deteriorates towards the end of his life, his writing becomes careless, on some leaves the paper is of bad quality so that the ink blurs and shows through from the other side. Is it worth struggling with such difficulties for the sake of a joke?

On balance the answer is yes. We know little enough of word-of-mouth humour at that time (and comparatively few of Drummond's jokes came from printed sources). We are interested in the people about whom the jokes are told, in King James, John Donne, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Edward Dyer, Archbishop Tobie Matthew; for a joke, however apocryphal, tells us something about the opinions, prejudices or preoccupations of the age. Even the vulgarities - and many of the jokes are obscene - are informative, and it would be concealing evidence to ignore these as Laing did, meanwhile mumbling that they are "of a character not quite suited to the more refined taste of the present age."¹ Lastly, much of the *Democritie* is still entertaining and funny. Knowing what Drummond laughed at helps us see both him and his contemporaries in a clearer and perhaps more sympathetic light.

In using the name "*Democritie*" Drummond was not inventing, but only following contemporary fashion. The "laughing" Greek philosopher Democritus lent his name to several printed

1. Laing, p. 68.

collections of humour, such as that of Antonio Fregoso (translated into French as Le ris de Democrite).¹ As Robert Burton observed, in his address as "Democritus Junior to the Reader," "... it hath been always an ordinary custom, as Gellius observes, for later writers and impostors to broach many absurd and insolent fictions under the name of so noble a philosopher"² The rest of Drummond's title to his *Democritie* is as studied (see Plate VII). The *Democritie* is a "worke preparatiue for the apologie of Democritus," an echo, surely, of Henri Estienne's title for his polemical L'introduction au traité de la conformité des merueilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou traité preparatif à l'Apologie pour Herodote.³ At the foot of the page, by way of a fanciful imprint, Drummond has "Eleutheropoli. Free-Brough." - words that only take on significance when we remember that his book of pasquills, actually printed at Basle, purported to come from the same city.⁴

The jokes outnumber all else in the *Democritie*; we should consider what is their nature, and what was their source.

Here is a sample of what amused Drummond.

Carleil sayd of a gentleman whom they said spake litle
but hee thinketh farre lesse (f. 4v).

1. Library 1044.

2. The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, 1951), p. 11.

3. Library 1033.

4. See below: the book was Pasquillorum tomi duo (Basle, 1544).

A Bohemian hauing builded a house went vp to the rooffe of it, and asked the comoners by how it did set him (f. 14r).

A Gray frere preching on Genesis of the creation of man, gaue this argument to proue woemen to be made of bones, because a bag full of bones wil euer rattle, when earth (which was the matter of the man) is dullye quiet (f. 15r).

After the death of Nicolao Machiuelli in his study there was a Booke found with this name on the couering: La Relligione del Machiauelli, and being opined it was all blanc paper (f. 21r).

When King Iames went to see his Queene Anne to Denmarke and was tossed by the windes on the sea, sundrye of these attended him, perplexed with the tempestes desired earnestly hee would turne his course homeward againe. But when they could not preuaile, a merry disposed gentleman said, apperingly his pricke was touched with a magnet, it would not stand but toward the north (f. 25v).

A comedian on the stage asked another where they should dine. Hee seing a man haue his hand in a womans spare told him at the sign of the hand in the placat. The guiltie withdrew his hand; the comedian: pray, Sir, hold it still else wee shall lose our signe (f. 42v).

King Iames loosing a stagge at hunting and meeting a man with a syde beard cryed hee had found wher the stagge was and willed the mans beard by his footemen to be searched (f. 63r).

Doctor Balquaquel Deane of Rochester being a Christian father to [a] chylde whose surname was Noble named her Rose so her husband during her life should not want a Rose Noble (f. 65r).

At Oxford a professour hauing put on a new gown, and some about saying it was too short, answered let it alone, it will be long enough ere I get an other (f. 68r).

Tobye Matheu the B[ishop] of Yorkes sonne endeuoring to turne him papist and hee [My Lord of Carnarvon] falling in a muse, and desired to tell what he was bussing his thoughts with, being near a church, said hee was wishing to haue his prike as tall as that steeple of the church, that hee might there with fuke the whore of Babel (f. 68r).

In the only detailed examination of the jestbooks of

Drummond's time, Ernst Schulz, a German scholar, divided printed jestbooks into three categories: "Lose Sammlungen" or collections of detached jests, "Schwankbiographien" or jest-biographies, and "Novellistische Schwanksammlungen" or collections of short stories or novelle.¹ The Democritie has nothing of the last two types, no exploits of Howleglas, Scogin or George Peele. A few of the longer jokes come close to the pranks or "bulls" of the heroes of the "Schwankbiographien," such as the tale of the "yong stripling" suffering from "insurrectio carnis," who found the physician's wife more help than her husband (f. 16r), but these are exceptions, and nearly all the jests could have found a place in "Lose Sammlungen."²

The jokes depend less on situation than on wit and word play. This is what we should expect, for the fashion in humour in the early seventeenth century - as Professor F. P. Wilson noted in an article on the English jestbooks³ - was towards witticisms, puns and quick answers. The jestbooks of the previous century had been filled with moralities, with simple

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1. Die englischen Schwankbücher, Palaestra CXVII (Berlin, 1912), pp. 1-3.
 2. It is interesting to note that Castiglione in The Courtier classifies jokes in much the same way: his speakers decide that there are three kinds of jests - long tales without interruption, conceits or "quicke and subtill sayings," and "Boordes or meerie Prankes." The Book of the Courtier ... done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, Tudor Translations (London, 1900), pp. 153 et seq.
 3. "The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," HLQ, II (1938-9), 121-158.

jokes at the expense of country bumpkins, with crude practical tricks, and there are a few survivals of these in the Democritie. The tedious tale, for instance, of the old peasant, his son and their ass (f. 26r) - who carries who - is an old favourite. It shows the foolishness of countrymen and points a moral: you cannot please all the people all the time. The foreigner too was always good for a laugh, and he was quite as stupid as the countryman. The Bohemian who climbed on his new roof to ask the passers-by how it suited him (f. 14r), the Spaniard in a storm at sea who prayed God to save him as he had never bothered Him before (f. 25r), are one with the common butt of the time (all but absent from the Democritie), the Welshman. There is little new about this kind of joke.

More typical, though still in the same style, are the numerous jokes at the expense of papists, Puritans, and especially preachers. A few of these are witticisms - such as "One said of the clocke that it would not sweare but it would lye most abominablye like a puritane" (f. 22v) - but most depend on the foolishness of their subjects. Ignorant priests, particularly Gray Friars, are fair game; texts are mangled, silly parables told, the apparent errors of the rival religion are exposed. Sometimes the congregation is mocked, as in the tale of the parson of Calder crying out "a thowsand rose nobles make iust a stone weght of gold and the chorus answered, amen" (f. 24r). One of the funnier jests on the religions must have come from a Spanish source (perhaps from Santa Cruz' Floresta Española, which

Drummond had in his library¹): "In that ouerthrow which the Ducke of Ioyeux receaued, a Spaniard being ouertaken in the flight cried out, Senores Lutheranos no me quiteis la vida que yo creere al Diauolo como vos otros" (f. 25r).

By contrast to the stupidities of the foolish, there are the jests of the wits, and among these puns are numerous. Some are simple and crude, like the series on the naming of children: "Sr W. Ra. [Sir Walter Raleigh] being Christian father (for the Queene) to a gentlemans daughter named Manners, named her Kisse" [*ie.* Kiss my arse] (f. 35r). Some hang on a usage no longer current, such as "A country Man being asked what houres he held it, said he held the plough and no howres" (f. 18r), others, like the tale of the supposed Frenchman named Mar Mosette (f. 38r), are so laborious as to seem forced. Straying from the puns, and often developing from them, are the "fantasies," the reductions to absurdity. The man who grew his hair long to see if it would run to seed (f. 3r), King James losing his stag in the thicket of a bushy beard (f. 63r) - we still have a taste for this kind of humour (as in the theatre of the absurd) in which logic is extended to its extremities.

Humour, it seems, changes little. We can recognize the common targets - clowns, courtiers, women - and even some of the jokes. The servant who refuses to pull his master out of the ditch until he has had a look at his contract (f. 24r), has

1. Library 1323.

become the trade-unionist demanding to see his shop steward before he hammers in a nail and begins a demarcation dispute (but this is no longer a joke). Dr. Johnson's dictionary quip, that oats are "a grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people,"¹ appears to be unoriginal, for Drummond has one variant of it which flatly states "The reason why the men are so tall and the horse so small in Scotland men eate the horse bread" (f. 47v).

This brings us to the question of Drummond's sources. As far as I can tell, after a search of all the likely places still accessible, particularly of the books in Drummond's reading lists or in his library,² few of the jokes in English in the Democritie came from printed sources, and those which did came from plays.³ It is impossible to be dogmatic about this, for many of Drummond's books either no longer exist or are extant only in one or two copies, nor of course can one be certain that one knows all the books that Drummond read in his lifetime. Much ephemera, especially, must have passed unrecorded either by him

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1. And see his rebuff to Mrs Bruce, recounted in Johnsonian Miscellanies, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill (London, 1897 and repr. New York, 1966), II, 333-4.
 2. See Library
 3. As with the joke on the ballad quoted below, which was put by Chapman into his All fooles, though it seems in this case to have been passed on by Jonson. Among his French jests Drummond has the pun on "les quater elemens" and "quater alemians" - elements and Germans - which he heard in the farce played on the first day at Bourges in 1607.

or posterity.

Against this there are clear hints that most of the *Democritie* was gleaned by word-of-mouth. First, many of the jokes are unlike what was printed, or are unusual variants of what was printed. Among these we can count the "dirty" jokes. Most of the *Democritie* could be called "Lose Sammlungen," and yet there seem to have been fewer collections of detached jests printed than the more popular jest-biographies.¹ Secondly, some of the jokes are marked by Drummond as coming from his friends, or appear elsewhere with an attribution. (The jokes told Drummond by Ben Jonson occasionally turn up in the "Conversations.")² Besides Jonson, some other names appear in the *Democritie*: Sir William Alexander's initials are set against one entry (f. 36r), and the elaborate story of the cordelier's sermon at Rouen is headed "S.P. Yong [Sir Peter Young] told mee this ..." (f. 29r). In addition there is the negative evidence that a search has uncovered no printed source, and all the anecdotes (with the exception of a few of the apophthegms) attached to historical persons are unrecorded.

This is not to say that the jokes are all new - but has a joke ever been new? The Oxford professor and his new (and short) gown (f. 68r), the carver of stones (f. 48r), the boy seeking

1. See Schulz's bibliography, pp. 18-21.

2. The "Conversations" has some twelve "Jeasts and Apothegms" common to the *Democritie*. Herford and Simpson, I, 144-9.

his godfather's blessing (f. 6r), can all be found in John Taylor's Wit and mirth,¹ but it is improbable that Drummond found them there, for Wit and mirth was not printed until 1629, and these are in Drummond's earlier hand. The story of the countryman at the scrivener's shop (f. 48r), who was told that logger-heads were for sale,, appears in Pasquils jests (earliest edition 1604)² and that of the countryman, his son and his ass (f. 26r) in Tales, and quicke answeres (1535?)³ - and probably elsewhere too, for it is an old favourite. There are versions of the Frenchman receiving his last sacrament and joking that it came, like Jesus to Jerusalem, on an ass (f. 28r), in Certaine conceyts and jeasts (1614)⁴ and of the speech-maker repeating in fright his instructor's words (f. 63r) in the sixteenth tale of The merry tales of the mad men of Gottam (1630).⁵

Jokes frequently survive for hundreds of years, and as Schulz and Professor Wilson both point out, it is a hopeless business trying to trace their ancestry. Jonson told Drummond

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1. STC 23814. Reprinted by W. C. Hazlitt in Shakespeare Jest-Books (London, 1864), Third Series. Jest number 108, 2, and 28 (pp. 72, 9-10, 28). Hazlitt begins his pagination anew with each work in the collection.
 2. STC 19451. Shakespeare Jest-Books, Third Series, pp. 13-14. The joke is in Joe Miller's jests (London, 1739), pp. 25-6.
 3. Shakespeare Jest-Books, First Series, pp. 78-80.
 4. Shakespeare Jest-Books, Third Series, p. 13.
 5. Shakespeare Jest-Books, Third Series, pp. 19-20.

the joke of the man who lit his pipe with a ballad, and swore he had the singing of it in his head for a week (f. 4r): did he steal it from Chapman - who has it in his All fooles¹ - or did both Jonson and Chapman hear it going the rounds of the taverns? Wilson quotes a version of the Sir Jerome joke - one beat upon his breast and asked him if he was within (f. 4r) - from the Gratiae Ludentes of 1638² (that is, about twenty years after Jonson told it to Drummond), and no doubt variations on the same theme could be found in Joe Miller's Jests of a century later.³ In a typically parasitic and low production of the late eighteenth century, The witty and entertaining exploits of George Buchanan, who was commonly called the King's fool,⁴ several of the Democritie's jokes are repeated, and since many others are lifted straight from Scogin, we would probably find if we had the means that what Drummond was hearing in 1619 was in print

1. "Conversations," loc.cit., p. 171.

2. Loc.cit., p. 132.

3. On inspection Joe Miller's jests - one of the best known of all jestbooks of any century - does not seem to have this joke, but besides the joke on loggerheads at least three other of the Democritie's jokes survive.

4. Edinburgh, 1781. In the second section of this book, Witty and entertaining jests epigrams, and epitaphs, etc., the joke of the Oxford professor with his new (and short) gown and the reply of the poor scholar are both told.

before 1650.¹ (The attachment of clownish jests to the names of decent men, incidentally, was now new; if George Buchanan's memory suffered here George Peele's had earlier.²)

The French, Latin, Italian and Spanish jokes seem to be all gathered from books. Some of these are now no longer extant, or survive in rare copies, and we can thus only guess their use by Drummond. From his reading lists and from his library we could pick out a number of probable sources: the jokes against the Jesuits he may have found in the satire Anticotton, and tales of foolish friars in a dozen places, from La Rochelle to Basle. He had Poggio's works in his list of 1611, and thus probably knew his Facetiae; he had several collections of classical and Renaissance apophthegms and memorabilia from those of the popular Alexander ab Alexandro to the now forgotten Brusonius.³

Such borrowing and anthologizing went on in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that tracking down a particular joke is difficult if not impossible. Henri Estienne in his Apologie pour Herodote took story after story from any author that best served his muck-raking, and he incorporated whole

1. Or at least before 1672. The story of the music of the hounds (f. 30r) appeared in Covent Garden Drollery (1672), and that of the two widows (f. 16v) in Oxford jests refined and enlarged (1664). See John Ashton, Humour, Wit and Satire of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1883), pp. 309, 133.
2. See STC 19541, Merrie conceited iests of George Peele (London, 1607).
3. See Library

sections of John Bale's exposé of monkish sin. Drummond had both Bale and Estienne in his library:¹ did he find his tales in their pages or from a third, equally indebted source?

(Drummond has Estienne's vulgarity about the Abbot's book against the Lutherans (f. 16r), written in so rough a style, that when it was presented to the Holy Father, and he by chance took a leaf of it with him to the privy, he did "chafe and excoriate his Apostolike seate therewith."² Popular jokes or verses were put into collection after collection. Thus the epitaph on Charles V - "Qui iacet intus ..." - which Drummond wrote out on f. 42r of the Democritie - can be found in Estienne's Apologie,³ as well as in the Seigneur Des Accords' Bigarrures,⁴ and probably several other places without leaving Drummond's known books.

One particularly likely source for many of the Latin tales and verses is Otto Melander's Jocorum atque seriorum, tum selectorum atque memorabilium liber unus.⁵ This went through several editions during Drummond's lifetime, and in it he could have found witticisms from the famous of all ages, from Cicero, from Boccaccio, from Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. A few of Drummond's

1. See Library, 705, 1033.

2. This appears in Chapter 17. See R. Carew's translation (Edinburgh, 1608; STC 10554), p. 133.

3. Chapter 29. Ed.cit., p. 239.

4. Les bigarrures et touches ... (Paris, 1608), f. 174r.

5. Smalcaldiae, 1611.

pages look as though they had been taken from Melander; it is difficult to be sure.

Before leaving the jests of the Democritie we should mention those of them that are aphorisms or apophthegms, the furthest from the crude "bulls" of the jestbooks, the most sophisticated and pointed of the moral witticisms. Here is one example (which Drummond must have found in a book, although I have not traced his source):

Erasmus hauing asked a freind why he builded so magnificent a howse, was answered to show his equals that he wanted not siluer, nay replied Erasmus rather by this meanes yee shall show them that your purse is emptye (73r).

Both aphorisms and apophthegms - the distinction between them is often blurred - were popular in Drummond's day, a favourite exercise of a gentleman's ingenuity. Erasmus with his collection of Apophthegmata had raided the classics for anecdotes with a moral, in which the wit of the ancients, especially the great philosophers such as Socrates or Cicero, was set forth to instruct and entertain.¹ The tales may have been often apocryphal, or hung on some piece of lore such as the shrewishness of Xantippe, but they had the same moral purpose as the medieval bestiaries. The taste for apophthegms lasted well into the seventeenth century, though one has the feeling that as the fashion declined wit became more important than

1. See STC 10443, or see The Apophthegmes of Erasmus, trans. Nicolas Udall (repr. Boston, Linc., 1877).

morality.¹ Many a courtier must have amused himself and his sovereign with an aphorism: we know of Sir Edward Dyer and Sir John Harington as the first in the art of Elizabeth's time;² King James himself was thought to have few equals.³ Among those who troubled to put their wit into print Ben Jonson's selection in his Discoveries provides a typical sample,⁴ but the most famous of the day without doubt was Francis Bacon's Apophthegmes new and old, published in 1625, the year before his death.⁵ Many of Drummond's apophthegms are as good as Bacon's, and a few

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1. The older collections such as the Mensa philosophica or William Baldwin's Morall philosophie are full of long sententious anecdotes of little wit. Even in somewhat later books this taste for prolixity is indulged, for example in Francesco Sansovino's The quintessence of wit, translated by Hitchcock (Library 897). Compared to Bacon's or Jonson's apophthegms these are long-winded indeed.
 2. See Henry Harington's edition of Nugae Antiquae: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers in Prose and Verse ... by Sir J. Harington and others (London, 1804), pp. xii-xvii, or Elizabeth S. Donno's introduction to her edition of Harington's The Metamorphosis of Ajax (London, 1962), pp. 1-10.
 3. See Crumms fal'n from King James's table, in The Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knt., ed. E. F. Rimbault (London, 1856), pp. 253-78. For other collections of James's wit (probably apocryphal), see the entries under his name in the BM catalogue.
 4. Printed in his Works (1640); Herford and Simpson, VIII, 560-649.
 5. STC 1115. Reprinted in Bacon's Works, ed. James Spedding et al. (London, 1859), VII, 111-165, with additions, 166-86.

fall only a little below his best.¹ Mr. Hopkin's committal to the Tower, and his deliverance from it is neat wit, though the jest lacks some of the characteristic moral point of the apophthegm:

Mr Hopkinse being imprisoned in the towre committed for declaiming against some articles which the Kings Maiestie had sought to be established, and hauing written his apologie in verses to the king vpon which followed his deliurence, a compaignon of his said hee went in the towre by reason, but came out by ryme (65r).

The story of Sir Francis Bacon and his servants after his disgrace - on their rising at his entrance he said "set you down my maisters for your rising is my fall" (f. 19v) - has a dry humour to it, and besides the play on words an ironic (and moralizing) point, for the fact was that Bacon's disaster was in part caused by his avaricious underlings. An anecdote nearer the traditional apophthegm is Queen Mary of Lorraine's lesson to her maid of honour got with child (she was told to put a sword in a moving scabbard) (f. 24r), for though there is no wit in the words there is a general truth to be learned: rape is impossible.

Among the jokes and apophthegms are a few comments of Drummond's own. He adds to the long tale of Sir Peter Young's

1. The joke about dying at sea or in bed is common to both, although in a slightly different form. See Bacon's Works, VII, 138, and f. 25r. Drummond's apophthegm about Bacon and the fishermen - "hope is a good breakfast, but it is a bad supper" (f. 19v) - appears among the "Apophthegms from the Resuscitatio, 1661," making much better sense than in Drummond's version. This was, of course, not available to Drummond, who died in 1649. See Works, VII, 168.

about the cordelier's sermon (f. 29r) "because the king cited this gentleman in his meditation, I think him heere authenticke."¹ (Sir Peter succeeded George Buchanan as James VI.'s tutor.) To the jest

When the kings ships made toward their Algier voyage one wrot to his freind they had gone from London to Grauesend, thence to Landsend, and all to no end (f. 38r)

he notes, "Which proved true." He has a page of entries on cuckolds and why they are said to be horned (f. 22r), which leads him to items such as this:

The village woemen haue a custome in England to receaue their pigges in the hat of a cuckold beleuing [?] therby they will be the more broody (f. 22v).

His longest interpolation comes after this story:

A certain fellow being condemned to the fire for bestialitie, told the judges it was not Lust but necessitie which made him sinne, for said he I had an intention to haue gotten a monster, which monster being carried by mee about and throughout the countrey would haue gained mee my bread, by the vncouth strangenesse of its shape (f. 72r).

He adds:

This found I true in some poetes of our tyme: that it was not of any euill mind they wrot wicked verses, and altogether differing from the right genuine nature and faces of the muses but of intention by the sight of these monsters and presenting them to the people, to gaine bread to themselues and amaze the multitude for a while (f. 72r).

The anecdote and his comment stayed in his mind, for in slightly polished form he reproduced them both in his letter to Dr.

1. The king's "meditation" is James I and VI's A meditation upon the Lords prayer (STC 14384).

Arthur Johnson.¹ His subject was the "right genuine nature" of Poesy, his target the monstrosities of the new poets.²

1. Works (1711), p. 143.

2. See Fogle, pp. 18-21, for a discussion of this letter.

2. Epigrams and epitaphs

Scattered among the jests are a number of epigrams, epitaphs and a few longer poems. The last can for the most part be identified as coming from manuscript sources, although it seems probable that Drummond took the "Prayer going to Bed" from the first (unauthorized) edition of Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici. Richard Corbett's "Epitaph on the late Queene Anne," the verses on Raleigh and the long piece on the downfall of Sir Francis Bacon were not - as far as I can trace - in print before Drummond transcribed them.¹

It is preferable to distinguish these poems from all the other verses not only for their length but for their nature: they might have seen print or they did see print, but at least they were fit to print. The short epigrams and epitaphs are in the main obscene, and even those which are inoffensive would be unlikely to be thought suitable for the usual collections of more polished, studied satire. Some of the verses are poor stuff; halting clumsy lines of no felicity and less wit. Sir Jocelyn Percy's couplet is typical of this rubbish, whose ephemeral topicality is its only merit:

The Queen is to make two knights of the Garter
The one is a greate foole the other a greater farter (f. 16v).

These pieces are far removed from the polished work of

1. For these poems and their appearance in print see the Inventory, below, Vol. II.

such as Davies, Marston, Jonson, Breton, or a dozen others writing in the spirit of Martial; they are evidence of the contemporary fondness for the epigram, but the epigram in its humbler form, home-made, private and crude.¹ Most of Drummond's collection could be scrawled on a lavatory wall and no questions asked:

an inuersed pyramid my Mistresse is
Vpon whose con is raised the hight of blisse (f. 20v).

Venus lou'd the faire adonis
For a thing where neer a bone is (f. 29v)

A horse that pisseth whey madam a man amber
The one is for your way madam the other for your chamber
(f. 73r)

It would be silly to be too serious about these; they are not art, but then Drummond never supposed they were, for he only wrote them down for his own amusement. And some are clever and entertaining enough, such as Sir William Alexander's lines on Inigo Jones (unrecorded in Alexander's Works):²

This man so counterfaitlie acts his part
That it turns naturall to him what late was art (f. 63r).

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1. For a discussion of the epigram in the early seventeenth century see John Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford, 1956), pp. 139 et seq., who points out that satirical epigrams came under official censure at the start of the century for obscenity, and works by Sir John Davies, Marston, and others were ordered to be burned. Yet the epigrams of the Democritie would be unlikely to see print even in the most liberal climate, for they lack literary pretensions. Parts of Marston's Scourge of villanie are no less indecent than the Democritie's worst, although its vulgarity is clothed in style and wit.
 2. See Kastner and Charlton.

The "recept" for the green sickness seems rather laborious, but it does keep scansion:

A Maiden faire of the green sicknesse late
 (Pittie to see) being troubled wondrous sore
 Reddye to helpe her ill-affected state
 In this disease apollo doth implore,
 Cure of this euill the curing god assignes
 Keep the first letters of these seuerall lines (f. 6r).

Other verses have a topical interest, like the lampoon on Dean Corbett (or Torbet, as Drummond has it) (f. 15v), which records a notorious visit of King James to Woodstock, when the Dean's pride overcame his preaching.¹ The staggering lines on Robin Calwert, with their forced, unhappy rhymes, probably refer to the attempts of Lord Baltimore to plant his acquired estates in Ireland.²

Drummond may be partly to blame for the roughness of these epigrams, for if he was a careful composer of poetry, he was, as we know from the Conversations,³ a careless recorder of it. One example will suffice. An anonymous comic epitaph was in circulation on Sir Horatio Palavicino, who died in 1600 at his home at Babraham:

1. The verse is printed in Wit restor'd (1658). See The poems of Richard Corbett, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and H. R. Trevor-Roper (Oxford, 1955), p. xxii.

2. See DNB, under Calwert, George.

3. See Herford's and Simpson's notes, I, 152-78.

Him death with besome swept from Babram
 Into the bosom of old Abram
 But then came Hercules with his club
 And struck him down to Belzebub.

Drummond's version is much clumsier:

Death with his besome came down to Babrame
 And swipt Sr Horatio to the Bosome of Abrame.

Another

Death to Babrame came with his club,
 And beate Sir Horatio downe to Belzebub (f. 34r).

When separated the couplets lose more than half their wit.

Jonson gave several epigrams to Drummond that seem clumsy too - such as the "epitaph to a longbarde"² - but before we misjudge Jonson we should remember Drummond's carelessness as a transcriber. The Democritie is however a private notebook, and it was not filled with posterity in mind.

It seems safe to assume that Drummond gathered most of his epigrams and epitaphs from his friends. Many of these verses - such as the piece on Palavicino - were in general circulation, and occasionally one comes across them in other collections of the time. Thus the verse on the Earl of Leicester

Heere lies a valiant varriour ... (f. 34r)

is in a contemporary Scottish manuscript miscellany.³ Drummond has a version of Sidney's lines on his portrait at Longleat

1. Quoted by Laurance Stone, An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino (Oxford, 1956), p. 6.
2. Herford and Simpson, I, 148, 173.
3. Edinburgh University Library MS La. III. 436, p. 99.

Take this thou who maketh all the vertues liue,
Who giues himself maye well his picture giue (f. 48v).

which differs from the better-known version.¹ His verse on
Queen Elizabeth

Fame sound alowd and to the world proclame
There neuer ruled such a royall Dame,
Spaines Rod, Romes ruine, Netherlands reliefe,
Worlds wonder, Englands Gemme, & Natures cheife,
Shee is shee was and what can more be sayd
On earth the first in heauen the second mayd (f. 33v).

was another that was current and popular; the third and fourth
lines were printed as Joshua Sylvester's in his edition of Du
Bartas,² but the whole must have been familiar to Drummond's
generation.

The Latin, French and Italian verses almost certainly came
from his books. I have not been able to trace all these to
their sources, but those which I have not found are much like the
rest - the type of satirical verse which was printed in any
number of collections and anthologies. The Latin pasquills
copied out on ff. 8-11r of the Democritie come from the
Pasquillorum tomi duo, printed at Basle in 1544.³ This was a
collection with a definite anticlerical bias, which of course
proved popular in the Protestant countries, although many of the

1. See Ringler, pp. 345, 518.

2. In the 1633 edition of Bartas: his deuine weekes and workes
(STC 21654), p. 649.

3. Pasquillorum tomi duo. Quorum primo versibus ac rhythmis,
altero soluta oratione conscripta quamplurima continentur
... [In 2 parts.] Eleutheropoli [Basle], 1544.

verses included in it were written by the Italian humanists of the preceding century. There is little particularly informative about Drummond's selection. He took down a number of the pasquills on the popes, and one on the etymology of Rome¹ - all grist to the Protestant satirical mill. As mentioned earlier Drummond could have found the epitaph on Charles V in several places. On ff. 31r-32r he copied out a number of epitaphs in Spanish from Antonio de Guevara, and he took the lines

Le mutin anglois, et le Brauach Escossois,
Le Bougre Italien, et le fol françois,
Le poultron Romane, et le charron Gascone
Le Espagnol superb, et le almaine yuroigne.

from Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici.² According to Browne's editor, these are "an imperfect memory" of a sonnet of Joachim Du Bellay's Les Regrets, included in his Oeuvres poétiques.³

Before leaving the epigrams and epitaphs in the Democritie, we should mention that a number of them were printed as Drummond's in L. E. Kastner's edition of his poems. As I argue in some detail in Chapter VII, there is no reason to suppose that Drummond composed them apart from the fact that they are in his handwriting, and if this were good enough reason, Drummond would be the most prolific not to say polyglot writer of his time.

1. The first pasquills Drummond transcribed are from the first few pages of the Pasquillorum tomi duo; the "Etymologia Romae" occurs on p. 70.
2. See The works of Sir Thomas Browne, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1964), I, 76.
3. Ibid. Du Bellay omits the Italian and the Gascon.

3. Anagrams

The art of the anagram may now be only practised by those who attempt crossword puzzles; in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it was considered an accomplishment worthy of a courtier and fit for a king. The French especially delighted in it, and wits produced the most elaborate examples to flatter and amuse their royal masters. This specimen is by no means an extreme example:

L'oracle de Pan, ou praesage prins de l'anagramme
des noms Latins du Roy et de la Roine, l'an 1578.

Inuente par Iean Daurat Poete du Roy

Les Noms
HENRICVS TERTIVS LODOICA LOTARAENA.

L'anagramme,
NASCETVR HIS DE VTERO CORONA LILIATA.

Followed by a sonnet amplifying the anagram, and some other ingenious pieces, this was printed in 1578 as a fine exercise of the skill of the admired Jean Dorat.¹

Anagrams were one of the courtly trifles that were taken up by gentlemen with no courtly ambitions, for the best of the crop - as with Dorat's - reached a much wider audience than the court. Part of their appeal was that they were thought to carry some mysterious, even mystical, significance, and that if one could, for instance, produce from IACOBVS REX the words CORAX

1. See Oeuvres poetiques de Iean Dorat in La Pléiade Francoise, Slatkine Reprints (Geneva, n.d.), p. 66. See Archer Taylor, A bibliography of riddles (Helsinki, 1939), pp. 140-1 for a list of (mainly) seventeenth-century books on anagrams.

IVBES,¹ this was more than a happy accident. The best anagrams were those which uncovered secrets, in which the letters of the subject could be rearranged to show its hidden but true nature. Thus Thomas Dempster, commending William Fowler's gifts as a composer of anagrams, was praising more than a clever inversion done with moderate wit when he said that Fowler "ex officio sancto [the Inquisition] Romæ dismissus, objurata hæresi, cellae suæ custodiæ superscripsit ALMA ROMA, inversis elementis, MALA ROMA."² Used in this way anagrams were another weapon in the polemical wars between Catholics and Protestants, and each side examined the names of the institutions and leaders of its enemy, to find therein confirmation of their own prejudice. CALUINUS, it was discovered, was an anagram of ALCUINUS, who was of course "vn docte & scauant Anagnoste de Charlesmagne,"³ notorious, like Calvin himself, for his erroneous opinions.

This hint of mystery lingers around the anagrammatic art, to be deplored by succeeding writers. George Puttenham called the anagram "a thing if it be done for pastime and exercise of the wit without superstition commendable inough."⁴ The Seigneur

1. As did Drummond, see below.

2. Quoted by Meikle, III, xxx, from Dempster's Historia Ecclesiastica. On f. 17r Drummond has a similar anagram: ALMA ROMA, MALA MORA.

3. Des Accords, Les bigarrures, f. 80v. In his copy of John Bale's Actes of English votaries (Library 705), Drummond made a marginal note of this anagram.

4. The Arte of English Poesie, ed. G. D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 108.

Des Accords devoted a whole chapter to the subject, and went at length into the investigations of the Cabalists, and the use of anagrammatic prophecy on the coming of the Messiah as revealed in the Talmud.¹ Putting superstition carefully to one side, anagrams were a "pretie conceit,"² a "pleasant invention,"³ suitable to be recommended to any gentleman caring to establish a reputation as a wit.

Drummond of course was such a one, and his manuscripts show that he indulged in the sport. His uncle William Fowler had been a renowned master of the art, and among his papers Drummond found many of his inventions.⁴ On one leaf of the Democritie he wrote out a number of these, and others by "Chanceler Mettelane," Sylvester, and Jacques de la Taille.⁵ He felt himself enough of an authority to write an essay on anagrams in a letter to the Earl of Perth, which was printed in his Works (1711) under the title "Character of a perfect Anagram."⁶ We may go to this for definition of the "perfect Anagram," for the essay is concise and authoritative. Not surprisingly, knowing Drummond, it is

1. Les bigarrures, ff. 74-83r.
2. Puttenham, p. 108.
3. Henry Peacham, The Complete Gentleman and Other Works, ed. V. B. Heltzel (Ithaca, 1962), p. 155.
4. Hawthornden MSS 2063, 2064.
5. See f. 33r.
6. Works (1711), pp. 230-31.

not original, but was "lifted" from one or other of the books in his library.

The chapter in the *Seigneur Des Accords*' Bigarrures is Drummond's most likely source, for his essay at times reads as little more than a paraphrase of it. Drummond begins by defining the anagram: it should, desirably, be an inversion of letters without any "Adjunction, Repetition or Diminution;" it is, he notes, easier to make vice rather than virtue the occasion. He notes too the antiquity of the anagram, cites Lycophron as the earliest practitioner, and mentions its use by the Gabalists, Artemidorus and Eustathius. Here he is following the Bigarrures, for he quotes the same examples in the same order as *Des Accords*, giving the anagrams on Ptolemy and Arsinoe, and the passage on Artemidorus. There was probably some encyclopaedic authority which was in turn *Des Accords*' source. His examples were borrowed by others than Drummond: Puttenham, for example, also mentions Lycophron, Ptolemy and Arsinoe, and quotes the anagrams on François and Henry de Valois.¹

Having according to the usual custom of his day established the honorable ancestry of his subject, Drummond goes on to discuss the refinements of composition. He lifts the possible exceptions to the general rule of inversion - omission of a letter if it occurs twice, omission of an "h" if necessary, since this was to the Greeks only an aspiration, and treating

1. Puttenham, pp. 108-11.

diphthongs as separate letters. But, he says, "the Anagrammatism is so much the more perfect, the farther it be from all Licence." Throughout, most of his examples come from Des Accords, such as the famous one on PIERRE DE RONSARD, ROSE DE PINDARE.¹ This, we might note, is a good example of the quality in a perfect anagram that was generally held to be the most important, namely, relevance. If an anagram was not meaningful in a superstitious way, at least it should say something faithfully about its subject.

Drummond concludes his essay on the use of the anagram with some thoughts which seem to be his own, or at least partly his own. He remarks its use as an apophthegm, in a title on a tomb, or for an impresa. "The Reason of Anagrams appeareth to be vain; for in a good Man's Name ye shall find some Evil, and in an evil Man's Good, according to the Searcher." He concludes lamely that "one will say, it is a frivolous Art and difficult, upon which that of Martial is current.

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas
Et stultus labor est ineptiarum."²

This is an echo of Jonson's words, who told Drummond that "he scorned Anagrams & had ever in his mouth" the same two lines

1. This anagram was not Des Accords' own. His attempt was ARROSE DE PINDE, and he felt himself obliged to explain that "Pinde" "est vne fontaine en Thessalie, sortant d'une mōtaine de mesme nom, qu'on disoit estre le seiour d'Apollon & des Muses." Les bigarrures, f. 79r.
2. Works (1711), p. 231.

of Martial.¹

The typical anagram was composed on the name of the king, queen, or royal family, and glorified their supposed attributes. Puttenham, from ELISSABET ANGLORVM REGINA (having carefully explained that the usual "z" of Elizabeth could be converted to a double "s," since that was the value of the Greek Zeta, and that "h" was silent) made MVLTA REGNABIS ENSE GLORIA, which he translated as "By thy sword shalt thou raigne in great renowne."² With more historical accuracy, he offered the alternative MVLTA REGNABIS SENE GLORIA, or "Aged and in much glory shall ye raigne."³ Henry Peacham in his The Complete Gentleman (1622) gave his readers a taste of some of his anagrams in the same line - "such as they are" - for example, CAROLUS, O CLARUS.⁴

Other anagrams were vulgar. Des Accords, with hollow apologies, showed how MARIE MENEDANT could be turned into MERDE EN TA MAIN.⁵ William Fowler, in a mood of disappointment and spleen, worked on the Danish origins of his royal employer Queen

1. Herford and Simpson, I, 144. The lines come from Martial, Bk. II, lxxxvi, 9-10.
2. Puttenham, pp. 108-11. Des Accords pointed out that some composers used the "ortographe nouveau de Loys Megret & Ramus." Les bigarrures, f. 76r.
3. Ibid.
4. Peacham, p. 156.
5. Les bigarrures, f. 80.

Anne, to produce from DANISMERCA, CANIS MERDA.¹

In the Democritie there are a few of the first sort, one of the second, and a great many that fall between. IACOBVS REX, CORAX IVBES and IACOBVS REX, ABI EXCORS (f. 86v), are probably Drummond's own, as may be the cryptic GVALTERVS RALEIGHVS, HE [I] ARGVTVS AVGVR (Woe, sagacious - or cunning - soothsayer) (f. 78v). On the whole Drummond's taste was to the satirical, towards vice rather than virtue as the occasion. Thus he has the anagram that the Jesuits made from HENRY DE BURBON, BONHEUR DE BIRON, and the one that their enemies made from PIERRE COTTON, PERCE TON ROY. He has others which must have had wide currency in the Protestant countries, such as JESVITARVM SECTA, ET TU MARES VICIAS,² or SIXTVS QVINTVS DE MONTE ALTO, IS SOLVS MVNDO EXTAT INQVIETVS (f. 85r).

His own inventions are often witty and amusing, and they show something of his peculiarly complicated character, satirical, obvious, vulgar, romantic, introspective. From the name of Johnston of Wariston, a pillar of the Covenant, a rabid evangelical - and thus odious to a moderate such as Drummond - he made WARISTON, VN VRAI SOT (MS 2061, f. 74r). From IOHN SMITH (whoever he was) he made SHIT ON HIM (MS 2063, f. 65r). He

1. Meikle, III, xxxvi. This appears in a list of Fowler's in MS 2064, f. 14r. Meikle intrudes an "EX" before "DANISMERCA."
2. For this anagram and the two preceding, see MS 2060, f. 33r. Biron was Henry's general; Cotton was a Jesuit who gained much influence in the court. See the Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise.

turned his wife's name ELIZABETH LOGAN into BETH LOVELY AND GAY (MS 2062, f. 229r); an imperfect anagram, but an appropriate echo of one probably told him by Ben Jonson, to which a quadrain was made, ANNE GAWDY, NEW AND GAY (f. 7r). He toyed with the letters of his own name several times, and changed himself into a Spanish cavalier, DON GEMMA DE MURAVILL alias DON MURMIDUMILLA,¹ and with these titles he signed his books.

Some of his anagrams might be thought by his contemporaries to be improper, in the sense that they are on things, rather than names. Drummond played around with ANIMA, AMINA; SEMINA, ANIMES and OLIM, MILO² - all rather poor. He had more point with VRINA, RVINA (f. 81r) - we may remember his own perilous times with the stone. SCORTVM, SCROTVM and PRÓCUS, PORCVS were probably Fowler's (f. 33v).

To us now anagrams may seem trivial, and we may find ourselves with Jonson scorning them, and agreeing with Drummond himself that "it is a frivolous Art and difficult." Yet there is no need to be too apologetic; they were an amusing if idle recreation, an exercise in ingenuity and wit. Jonson himself

1. MS 2059, f. 310r; Library 931.

2. F. 83r. Beside the first, Drummond has the cryptic words "pape wt out milk."

composed anagrams,¹ and Drummond filled the pages of the *Democritie* with them. They may have been just a "pretie conceit" to many, but even those who acknowledged the superstition of reading too much into such trifles, seem nevertheless to have delighted in uncovering their secrets.

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1. Herford and Simpson give a few examples, I, 170. In Hawthornden MS 2060, f. 7r, there is an anagram on the name of Anne Gawdy, New and Gay, together with a verse on the anagram. From the date 1619 by the side, this may have been given to Drummond by Jonson. The practice of composing poems on anagrams was popular, as can be seen in Thomas Heywood's Pleasant dialogues and dramma's (London, 1637). Drummond had a verse on FIDES, DEFIS (f. 86r).

4. Impresas

In Drummond's other fascination in the Democritie, the *impresa*, we can see even more clearly the fondness of the age for a multiplicity of meanings. As Professor Mario Praz has said,¹ the allegorical way of thinking was pervasive in the seventeenth century, and in no place was it shown in more elaboration than in the emblems, devices and *impresas*, the drawings with mottoes attached, whose composition surpassed the anagram as a gentlemanly accomplishment. In the romances of knighthood like the Amadis de Gaule each warrior had his significant device, and Sidney, when he wrote of the single combats in the Arcadia, gave each protagonist the most meaningful *impresa*. The emblem books produced their own kind of poetry, and the imagery of the genre became entwined in the literature of the age. Just a glance at Professor Praz's huge bibliography shows the popularity of the subject.²

So much has been written about emblems and *impresas* recently that to add to it would be redundant and impertinent; it is sufficient only that we notice Drummond's opinions and look at a few of his collection. A common preoccupation was to distinguish between the emblem and the *impresa* - with "subtle

1. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (Rome, 1964), p. 206.

2. Ibid., pp. 233 et seq.

and vain distinctions," according to Professor Praz¹ - and Drummond, in a letter to the Earl of Perth, felt himself obliged to pronounce on the difficulty.² The emblem and the impresa were both formed of a picture and a motto, the one complementary to the other: "the Words of the Emblem are only placed to declare the Figures of the Emblem; whereas, in an Impresa, the Figures express and illustrate the one part of the Author's Intention, and the Word the other." Emblems, he went on, show a general truth, while impresas pertain to the individual, thus an emblem might be used by a family or even a nation, but an impresa was a man's own, and meaningful only to himself. Continuing with other subtilties - the figures on the impresa must be "in genere or in specie, not in individuo" - he concluded finally with the declaration that "thus far have the Wits of our Times searched into the Nature of the Impresa"³ It can be remarked, in parenthesis, that the way this sentence is phrased reveals a belief in the existence of the perfect form, even of such a refined invention as an impresa. Drummond consistently viewed artistic and literary forms with the instinct of the Renaissance man, holding that their nature was ascertainable, fixed and right.

Drummond's remarks on the impresa in his letter to the Earl

1. Ibid., p. 7.

2. "A Short Discourse upon Impresa's and Anagrams," in Works (1711), pp. 228-9.

3. Ibid.

of Perth are entirely conventional and correct, for he knew what he was talking about. He had in his library a variety of books more or less on the subject, from those which inspired the early emblem writers - such as the Greek Anthology, Horapollon's Hieroglyphica, or Colonna's Hypnerotomachia - to the emblem books themselves like Paolo Giovio's Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amorose or Henry Peacham's Minerva Britannia. William Fowler had written an "art of impreses" - it is listed by himself among his works¹ - and Drummond may have read this; he probably knew Samuel Daniel's translation of Giovio, and he may have had Scipione Ammirato's Il rota, another treatise on the same subject.² There were any number of authorities, but though for the Earl of Perth Drummond referred to Italians such as Ruscelli, he actually went to a reliable English scholar, William Camden, and drew the body of his essay on impresas from the Remaines.³

In a letter to Jonson dated July 1st, 1619 (that is, some five months after Jonson's visit to Hawthornden) Drummond described the elaborate impresas embroidered by Mary Queen of Scots on a bed of state.⁴ Jonson must have shown himself interested in the subject, and hinted that he wished to include such stuff in his new work on Scotland, his "journey into Scotland"

1. Meikle, II, 3.

2. He knew Daniel's poems, and he had an unnamed work by Ammirato. See Library 738, 1186.

3. See his reference in MS 2061, f. 128r.

4. Reprinted in Herford and Simpson, I, 208-10.

sung" (lost in the fire he suffered in 1623).¹ Drummond certainly thought that he should be interested: "The Impresas's and Emblems on a Bed of State ... will embellish greatly some pages of your Book, and is worthy of your Remembrance." He went through a long list of the impresas and their owners - Mary of Lorraine, Henry II and Francis I of France, Godfrey of Bulloigne, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Henry VIII of England, the Duke of Savoy, and so on.² The first, that of Mary Queen of Scots herself, was "the Loadstone turning towards the Pole; the Word her Majesty's Name turned into an Anagram, Maria Steuart, Sa vertu m'attire, which is not much inferior to Veritas armata."³ He did not mention to Jonson that he had not been into Holyrood Palace himself, but that he had taken all his information from a description made by his uncle, William Fowler.⁴

There is nothing remarkable about Drummond's collection of impresas (or rather, descriptions of impresas, for the pictures were wanting) in the *Democritie*. Other gentlemen made lists;⁵ the subject was so popular that it was hardly necessary to invent

1. See Herford and Simpson, I, 73.
2. Herford and Simpson, I, 208-9. Some of these impresas, such as those of Henry II and Francis I, are described in *Giovio*.
3. Herford and Simpson, I, 208.
4. See Meikle, III, xlv.
5. See "Certayne devises and empresaes taken by the scucheons in the Gallery at Whitehall," in the Diary of John Manningham, Camden Society 99 (London, 1868), pp. 3-5.

an impresa - except for oneself - for the best of the crop were in print. Drummond has "a Doue flying at the sight of the shadow of the faulcon in watter vt vidiť vmbram aufugit," and "a Torch turned downwards Qua viuo hoc morior" (f. 78v). One of the mottos in English seems satiric: "an old horse from the court to the cart" (f. 78v).

5. Drummond's use of emblematic imagery

Turning to Drummond's own writing, it is plain that consciously or subconsciously, he was much influenced by the imagery of the emblematisers. Some of his shorter poems read just like "naked" emblems (emblems without the pictures), and in others he uses for similes the properties - animals, birds, and the like - that were commonly found on the emblems.¹ Large sections of his long religious poems are cast in a form very reminiscent of the sacred emblemata of Wither, Quarles or the Jesuits. The use of this imagery has the effect of making the poetry more dense: each image carries its own allegorical meaning; an emblematic allusion becomes a shorthand signpost to a religious or moral truth.

When looking for a poet's debt to the emblematisers, we must approach with caution, for it is not enough to point out similarities, unless we can be sure that both poet and emblematiser were not drawing from a common source. Professor Praz has made clear the dangers of this course, of jumping to conclusions on the mere coincidental occurrence of an image, which may in fact have been taken from an author known to both writers.² This is a trap that cannot always be avoided, for the emblematisers were for the most part reworking a vein of stock allegory that was

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1. For a definition of emblems and impresas see Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), pp. 1-36.
 2. Studies, pp. 206 et seq.

always available to any educated writer. By Drummond's time, however, emblematic imagery was so formalized that we can be sure that Drummond was aware of the implications of every figure he employed.

There is a second difficulty with Drummond's poetry, in that so much of it is unoriginal, being adaptations or more often translations from a French, Italian or Spanish model. We may be startled by an unusual metaphor or stopped by an exotic word, and give the credit for them to Drummond, only to find that we are praising Ronsard or Marino. But should we then abandon criticism altogether? No, for Drummond chose what he borrowed with great discrimination, and made his own poem from the pieces of others. When we look at his use of emblematic imagery, we are looking at the fashion of a generation, his choice and the taste of the age.

We may start with a piece about which there is no doubt:

The entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch, Prince Charles ... Edenborough, the 15. of Iune. 1633.¹

This was written by Drummond on commission from the Town Council for Charles' first State visit to Scotland, and written, incidentally, while Drummond was confined to his bed during a long illness. What we have now is the script of a kind of pageant or series of masques, which was enacted on the royal route through the city. Most of

1. Kastner, II, 109-36. Other references to Kastner in this chapter appear in the text.

it can best be described as made up of animated emblems: virtues and vices were represented, and alongside each was a motto or "word." As in the usual masques, nymphs harangued the audience, characters (such as Caledonia and Endymion) recited verses, and mountains moved. In Drummond's own words:

... upon her [the Genius of the town of Edinburgh] right hand stood Religion all in white taffeta, with a blew Mantle seeded with starres, a Crowne of starres on her head, to shew from whence she is, shee leaned her on a Scutcheon, where upon was a Crosse with the word, Coelo descendet ab alto. Beneath her feete lay Superstition trampled, a woman blind, in old and worne garments, her Scutcheon had - Vltra Sauromatas. On the left-hand of this Nymph stood Iustice, a woman in a red damaske Mantle, her undergarments Cloth of silver, on her head a Crowne of Gold, on a Scutcheon she had Ballances and a Sword drawn. The word was, Fida regnorum Custos. Beneath the feet of Iustice lay Oppression trampled, a person of a fierce aspect, in armes, but broken all and scattered. The word was, Tenente Carolo Terras (II, 114-5).

And there is much more of the same, including the three Graces, the seven planets and the nine Muses.

If there is no doubt that The Entertainement is the usual sort of masque, heavy with gods and overloaded with flattering symbolism, done for a change all round the town, we must not make too much of its emblems. This is Drummond at his most humdrum, and what else would we expect in a performance of this kind but emblematic borrowings? All that needs to be said is that it seems carefully done: each character is given the right clothes, the right attitude, and the right "word."

In the main body of his poems the emblematic borrowings are more interesting, if less obvious. We may return, first, to the *impresa* described by Drummond as belonging to Mary Queen of

Scots, and embroidered by her on to the bed of state: "... the first impresa is the Loadstone turning towards the Pole; the word her Majesty's Name turned into an Anagram, Maria Stuart, Sa vertu m'attire"¹ The loadstone was a favourite of the emblematisers, and particularly of those who composed sacred emblems. Geoffrey Whitney pointed to the hidden "vertue" of the iron pulled toward the star, and drew the lesson that our inward virtues should thus direct our hearts.² Francis Quarles compared the loadstone to the Almighty:

Eternall God, O thou that onely art
The sacred Fountain of eternall light,
And blessed Loadstone of my better part³

Drummond (with some reason, one would think) reversed the imagery, made God the star and man's soul the stone:

No, but blest Life is this,
With chaste and pure desire,
To turne vnto the Load-starre of all Blisse,
On GOD the Minde to rest ... (II, 34).

There is no direct borrowing here, but the common use of an accepted symbol is obvious.

Another image common to several writers and used in his own way by Drummond is the bubble. Quarles has

This Bubble's Man: Hope, Fear, false Joy and Trouble,
Are those four Winds which dayly toss this Bubble ...

1. See above, p.

2. A choice of emblemes (STC 25438: Leyden, 1586), p. 43.

3. The Complete Works, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, Chertsey Worthies' Library (Edinburgh, 1880-81), III, 92 (Bk. V, Emblem 4).

under a picture of an enormous bubble blown by scowling putti.¹ Whitney shows a group of children trying to chase and catch the bubbles they blow, and his verse describes the vanity of material pursuits.² Drummond's first madrigal in the second part of his Poems might have accompanied Whitney's emblem:

This Life which seems so faire,
Is like a Bubble blowen vp in the Aire,
By sporting Childrens Breath,
Who chase it euery where,
And striue who can most Motion it bequeath:
And though it sometime seeme of its owne Might
(Like to an Eye of gold) to be fix'd there,
And firme to houer in that emptie Hight,
That only is because it is so light,
But in that Pompe it doth not long appeare;
For euen when most admir'd, it in a Thought
As swell'd from nothing, doth dissolue in nought (I, 54).

It could however be objected that the imagery here is not of Drummond's choosing, for the verse is a translation, with only a few variations, of a madrigal by the Italian Guarini.³

The emblematicists did not always strive to explain their pictures in every detail, and to draw a moral from everything, but they often did so. In particular, the composers of sacred emblems liked to give every feature its own significance.

Francis Quarles, for example, explaining the eleventh emblem of

1. Ibid., p. 185. This first appeared in Quarles's Hieroglyphikes (1638) as the frontispiece, but was added to the third edition (1639) of the Emblemes with the Hieroglyphikes. Grosart's edition omits the traditional illustrations.

2. A choice of emblemes, p. 55.

3. See Kastner's note, I, 209-10.

Book III of his Emblemes

The world's a Sea; my flesh a Ship that's mann'd
With lab'ring Thoughts, and steer'd by Reason's hand ...

itemizes each piece of the ship of man - spars, rigging, anchor, mast - and makes a moral from all.¹ In one sonnet Drummond uses the same imagery in a way that suggests that the emblem was in his mind, though his description avoids the moral inventory:

O Woefull Life! Life, no, but liuing Death,
Fraile Boat of Christall in a rockie Sea,
A Sport expos'd to Fortunes stormie Breath ... (I, 53).

But - before we jump to the hasty conclusion that Drummond knew Quarles's poem before it was written, or that they were both inspired by a common source - we should notice that Drummond's editor points out that these lines are a simple translation of the seventeenth sonnet of Sannazaro.² And again, the perfect "naked" emblem, "The World a Game," of the Flowres of Sion,

This world a Hunting is,
The Pray poore Man, the Nimrod fierce is Death,
His speedie Grei-hounds are,
Lust, sicknesse, Enuie, Care ... (II, 28)

is "borrowed" from a madrigal by the obscure Italian poet Valerio Belli.³ Drummond is writing for readers who used the allegory as common currency, and they would not be as interested in the fact that one poet had borrowed from another, as in commending a happy use of the appropriate symbolism.

1. Ed.cit., III, 75.

2. Kastner, I, 208.

3. Kastner, II, 337.

There are however many passages in his poetry which appear to be his own and in which he does use the imagery of the emblematisers. Into his sonnet "For the Magdalene" - which according to Kastner, was inspired by one of Desportes' "Sonnets spirituels" (II, 333) - Drummond introduces three lines of his own. He describes the Magdalene before Jesus, using the most extreme imagery

These Eyes (deare Lord) once Brandons of Desire,
Fraile Scoutes betraying what they had to keepe ...
These Lockes ...
Soule-stinging Serpents in gilt curles which creepe ...

before he changes the metaphor and introduces rather awkwardly

In Seas of Care behold a sinking Barke,
By windes of sharpe Remorse vnto thee driuen ... (II, 12).

On the allegorical level this innovation is irreproachable, but it matches unhappily the imagery of the previous lines. The sinking bark was an old favourite of the emblematisers, and in the picture which showed it, God was there to offer rescue.

Into another sonnet Drummond puts the "Rose hedg'd with a Bryer," but equates it with "A Nought, a Thought; a Show of mocking Dreames" (I, 87), whereas the usual employment of the rose in the briar was to illustrate that good things are set about with difficulty, or as Whitney put it

Which shewes, we should not fainte for anie paine,
For to atchieue the fruictes of our desire¹

The last four lines of Drummond's sonnet are another perfect

1. A choice of emblems, p. 165.

"naked" emblem:

Thy Naile my Penne shall bee, thy Blood mine Inke,
Thy Winding-sheet my Paper, Studie Graue.
And till that Soule forth of this Bodie flie,
No hope I'll haue but only onelie Thee (I, 87).

Besides moralizing classical fables and enlisting Greek deities in the Christian cause, the emblematists made use of the birds, the beasts, the fish and the insects. In one book Drummond had in his library, the Hieroglyphica animalium terrestium ... quae in scripturis sacris inveniuntur¹ - a work which Praz allows into his bibliography of emblem-books without comment,² although properly it is not an emblem-book, having no illustrations - Archibald Simson brings the bestiary up to date. Relying on Pliny, the Scriptures, and other authorities, he invests each creature with its peculiar habit, and offers all as an example to mankind. We learn that the chameleon lives on air and the sun, and shows us the fault of inconstancy, such as is practised by those who change their religion to suit their country, becoming, when they arrive in Italy, papists.³ As Drummond remarks in his Cypresse Groue, "what Camelion, what Euripe, what Raine-bow, what Moone doth change so oft as Man?" (II, 76). The inevitable phoenix is an exemplar of the beauty of the rarest things and the primacy of one; one sun, one moon,

1. (Edinburgh, 1622-4), Library 594.

2. Studies, p. 497.

3. Hieroglyphica Animalium, pp. 84-5.

one Christ, one God, one Church.¹ Born anew, how appropriate it is in "An Hymne of the Resurrection:"

Life out of Death, Light out of Darknesse springs,
From a base Taile foorth comes the King of kings;
What late was mortall, thrall'd to euey woe,
That lackeyes life, or vpon sence doth grow,
Immortall is, of an eternall Stampe,
Farre brighter beaming than the morning Lampe.
So from a blacke Ecclipse out-peeres the Sunne:
Such (when a huge of Dayes haue on her runne,
In a farre forest in the pearlie East,
And shee her selfe hath burnt and spicie Nest)
The lonlie Bird with youthfull Pennes and Combe,
Doth soare from out her Cradle and her Tombe ... (II, 18-19).

The pelican is the image of Christ crucified, as Simson says: "Hic Pelicanus est Jesus Christus qui quos Sathan veneno peccati occidit, suo sanguine redemit," for did not the Pelican tear open her breast to feed her hungry fledglings?² Drummond could with justice use this image in a sonnet on the passion:

If that the World doth in a maze remaine,
To heare in what a sad deploring mood,
The Pelican powres from her brest her Blood,
To bring to life her younglinges backe again? (II, 13).

and with no disrespect, call Christ the soul's pelican.

Examples like this of Drummond's use of the imagery of the emblematisers could be multiplied. It would, indeed, be most surprising not to find them, especially among his poems spiritual, for such imagery pervaded the religious thought of the

1. Ibid. (H. Volatilium), pp. 29-31. Simson's pagination begins anew with each section.

2. Ibid., pp. 31-2. See also Rosemary Freeman, op.cit., p. 145, who reproduces George Wither's emblem of the pelican on plate 24.

time. Both the Jesuits and the Puritans (John Bunyan, for example) used emblems in their propaganda; poets like George Herbert and Henry Vaughan incorporated emblematic imagery in their verses. Long passages of Drummond's divine poems are cast in allegorical terms, vices and virtues are personified, morals drawn from the lore of nature. Even when one is aware of no particular source among the emblematisers, there is much that is reminiscent of their imagery. In Drummond's "An Hymne of the Fairest Faire. (An Hymne of the Nature, Atributes, and Workes of God.)" God is seen surrounded by his angels: Youth, Might, Truth, Prouidence, Iustice, Loue. Each is given her proper clothes and instruments, for instance,

Truth stedfastlie before thee holdes a Glasse,
 Indent'd with Gemmes, where shineth all that was,
 That is, or shall bee ... (II, 39).

In "The Shadow of the Iudgement. (An Essay of the Great and Generall Iudgement of the World.)" more of Heaven's citizens appear - Pietie, Charitie, Iustice, Truth - in greater and yet more significant detail. One of the Furies is described thus:

The next with Eyes, sunke hollow in her Braines,
 Lane face, snarl'd haire, with blacke and emptie Veines,
 Her dry'd-vp Bones scarce couered with her Skinne,
 Bewraying that strange structure built within,
 Thigh-Bellillesse, most gastlie to the sight,
 A wasted Skeliton resembleth right.
 Where shee doeth roame in Aire faint doe the Birdes,
 Yawne doe Earths ruthlesse brood & harmelesse Heardes,
 The Woods wilde Forragers doe howle and roare,
 The humid Swimmers dye along the shoare;
 In Townes, the liuing doe the dead vp-eate,
 Then dye themselues, Alas! and wanting meate,
 Mothers not spare the Birth of their owne Wombes,
 But turne those Nestes of life to fatall Tombes (II, 57).

Her two sisters are equally horrible; Death could hardly have fouler personifications. Such portraits might well have graced an Emblem - we need only compare these lines with Whitney's description of Envy:

What hideous hagge with visage sterne appeares?
Whose feeble limmes, can scarce the bodie staie:
This Enuie is: leane, pale, and full of yeares ...¹

Envy, we may notice, is pictured with a viper issuing from her mouth, signifying her poisoned thoughts. Drummond's Furies are no less allegorical: one is bloody death, the next wasting death, the last poisoned death

Her Breath with stinking Fumes the Aire be-spredd,
In either Hand shee held a Whip, whose Wyres,
Still'd poyson, blaz'd with phlegethontall Fyres ... (II, 57).

Finally, it is worth asking what effect the choice of emblematic imagery has upon Drummond's writing. There is no simple answer to this. So much of Drummond's verse is not his own; he exercises only a general choice of his borrowing, but the detail comes with the loan. Sometimes, as I have indicated in the case of the sonnet "For the Magdalene," his own insertions of emblematic imagery are unhappy; elsewhere, as in his long religious pieces, his allegories are laborious and often crude. He makes good use of the emblems when he refers to them in passing, drawing upon their evocations without burdening himself with each step of the parable.

This he does at its best not in his poems but in his prose:

1. A choice of emblemes, p. 94.

A Cypresse Groue is enriched by many similes which echo the emblems. Here however Drummond is not drawing directly from the emblematicists, but takes their imagery from one of his chief models for his "rapture," the Libro de Oracion y Consideracion of Fray Luis de Granada.¹

1. See Matthew P. McDiarmid, "The Spanish Plunder of Drummond," MLR, XLIV (1949), 17-25.

6. Conclusion

Although the *Democritie* shows us the private side of Drummond, it is a sight without surprises. There is nothing in it that disagrees with what we know of his poetry, though it does restore the balance in favour of normality, if only by damaging the romantic picture of the gentleman poet, amorous, detached, philosophical. Here are his feet of clay, his liking for smut, his willingness to write out the most humdrum parable, his careful recording of the trivia of the court and London life. Here is the Drummond of the epigrams and posthumous poems, in which the same coarse humour as appears in the *Democritie* is indulged in:

The parlament lords haue sitten twice fiue weekes,
Yet will not leaue their stooles, knit vp their breekes;
Winter is come, dysenteryes preuaile:
Rise, fooles, and with this paper wbye your taile (II, 242).

Neat enough, but in his own estimation not for the public eye. Yet Drummond often seems happiest with indecency and satire; as a Scot - Smollett comes to mind - it perhaps came naturally to him!

The chief value of the *Democritie* is not for what it tells us about Drummond but for what it tells us about his society. We can make no literary claims for it, but we can declare that it is interesting and amusing. Collections of jokes are rare

enough,¹ if we exclude the printed chestnuts of the Joe Miller type, and a gathering such as the *Democritie* reflects a side of private life that has always been in the shadow. Elizabethans and Jacobeans too seldom wrote for themselves instead of posterity; Drummond admitted everything into his pages. Unlike so many commonplace books which survive, this collection was written only for personal pleasure; with no moral pretensions it was a "*Democritie of delight*."

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1. The only comparable collection that I know of is the "*Merry Passages and Jests*" of Sir Nicholas Lestrangle, a selection of which were printed for the Camden Society, 1839. "The greater portion of these are unfit for publication," according to the editor, William J. Thoms. Some items in the table talk of Sir Henry Wotton - the pieces of lore - are similar to Drummond's "curious" facts; see Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), II, 489-500.

CHAPTER V

LETTERS

Under the title of "Familiar Letters" some of Drummond's correspondence was printed by his editors in their edition of his Works in 1711:¹ it included letters to and from Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton and Sir William Alexander, as well as many lesser men. These letters are familiar only in the classical sense (like Pliny's); they are expressed in elaborate, formal phrases, and courtesies far outweigh all else. In his selections from the Hawthornden MSS David Laing printed another thirty-one of Drummond's letters;² they are much like the others, though more are to unknown correspondents. But Laing by no means exhausted the source, and though his selection was fair - he chose the most complete and legible letters - he ignored many rough drafts and fragments, which in a way are more revealing than the polished products he thought fit to transcribe.

On one of the early pages of the first commonplace book is a draft of a letter with the title "a letter excusing," and since it is written in a youthful hand, in Scots, we can be sure it was composed before 1607. It is a letter in the most formal style addressed to a woman, an attempt at elegance by a novice in the art of formal courtesies:

1. Works (1711), pp. 135-162, 231-234.

2. Laing, pp. 83-98.

If that constraining necessetie makith men to do or forceth them to leaue yndone may obtaine excussing or at the least no accusing (most virthy of virthiest ladys) then must I be so humblie bold to craue so much at your gratiuss hands: in ansuering your desyr (quilk vtheruays suld haue bein a command and quilk in vther things sal be a comand vnto me) rather with ther feu vords quilk ye desyrit not then with the performans off so smal a debt (as the cuming thidder with your frend) quilk with mo then I may hear efter acomplisch your dearest selff deseruith. Tyme vrgith me, my frends mouith and (quilk I vuld var not so becauss ye vald not haue it so) to take iurney before I can be so happie as to see thess parts of the cuntrie quher I heir ye remane¹

With as many tortuous effusions the letter closes, signed, "to command V.D." It tells us little: if it was addressed to one of his early loves we learn nothing of her, and of Drummond himself, only that his ambitions to be the perfect gentleman began while he was still a youth. Below this letter is another, starting

Hauing veud the perfytt picture of a perfytest minde in your sacred lines, dear lady ...²

which, judging from its literary style, was probably copied by Drummond from his reading.

If we might feel some disappointment that there is nothing intimate or personal, nothing informal, in Drummond's early letters, we can reassure ourselves that his feelings on love were quite conventional, and had anything survived, it would have contained no surprises. Writing to an unknown correspondent on the 3 December, 1619, he discourses on love and jealousy:

1. MS 2059, f. 7r.

2. Ibid.

I thinke it possible that loue be without Ielousie where the obiect is worthye, and the louer knowes loue is met with loue. Ielousie is not onlye in those who enioye but in those who aspire to aproch to that end, and (perhaps) so much the greater as the hope of pleasure is more than the ioy and pleasure attained, so the feare to loosse what wee so earnestlie hope for is more than feare follouing enioiing, which knowes what it possest to be less than what it hoped.

These seem usual sentiments for the time, reminiscent in their tone to the arguments of the prologue in the plays Drummond saw at Bourges:

[hope] ... vas greter and better then the thing houpit for, for enioying the thing houpit ye haue not so great plaisur as ve had in houping of it.¹

The discontentments of love, Drummond goes on, only serve to make the joys sweeter, and

No thing is so excellent and comendable in louers to place the Mind on a persone of excellent parts to be chained in worthye Bands, and to be inuassaled to a lady of great worth, the Beautye of the obiect recompenses all paines can be sufferd and her worth banishes Ielousie for he knowes himselfe so well loued that non other can deserue so much.²

In Castiglione's Courtier he could have read:

... I have knowen few men of woorthinesse at anye time that doe not love and observe women, the vertue and consequentlie the woorthinesse of whom I deeme not a jott inferiour to mens.³

The heroes of his beloved Arcadia worshipped their ladies, and he

1. See Appendix 1; II, 261, and MS 2059, f. 69r.
2. MS 2061, f. 3r. Other references from this volume appear in the text.
3. The Book of the Courtier ... done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, Tudor Translations (London, 1900), p. 205.

himself had fashioned Auristella after Petrarch's Laura. How natural then for him to play the romantic, and to say that lovers should be "like two luts of one accord which when the one is stricken the other also soundeth" (f. 2v). This letter may have been written to Ben Jonson, for Drummond ends it by saying "Now yee shall receaue the answr to the verses which yee sent mee," and Jonson had sent him verses earlier that year.¹

In spite of all the books, papers and poems that Drummond left to posterity, little enough is known of his life. He seems to have spent most of his time on his estate at Hawthornden; he commented on public affairs, but scarcely ever became involved in them. His later years are largely a blank; his biographer David Masson was forced to end his history with conjecture. Now at least with these letters we can fill in a few of the gaps.

Some time - probably in the late 1630's - Drummond lost a law suit which left him in penury for the rest of his life. Writing to a nobleman and kinsman he adds in a note "Remember what I sufferd in that terrible processe of Ardrosse" (f. 124v).² He seems to have lost possession of some lands, or of a mortgage

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1. See Works (1711), pp. 154-5; Herford and Simpson, VIII, 148-50.
 2. The process of Ardrosse would seem to be connected with the laird or the lands of Ardross, near Elie, in Fife. This Ardross belonged to a family of Scotts, relatives of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, Drummond's brother-in-law. Of the few processes indexed for the 1630's, none refers to the Scotts or to Drummond, nor is there any record of a recognition of an alteration in land ownership in the Register of Sasines. Another process, with "Mamier," is mentioned in an account on f. 60v.

PLATE VIII. A note on the "terrible processe of
Ardrosse" (MS 2061, f. 124v)

Remember
What I suffered
in your letter
P2 of
1+222 for
a while more of
more agreeable
copy of your
for the
and suffer
your influence.

I trust so very can be found
of your to be sure, for which
~~not suffer any~~ be sure from
makes a great difference for you
to be good of, to be sure
to be sure of your to be sure
an in letter for the to be sure
of your to be sure all my
and of your of your

on some lands: whichever it was - and there is no extant record of the case - it was a disaster, and he and his family were plunged into real poverty. From this time on Drummond apparently received an annual pension from one of his protectors. His letters of thanks are sorry reading, for behind the formal courtesies of the age are self-pity, pride, and an uncomfortable and distressing obsequiousness. At first the letters are long and full of justification, later they become short and more gracious. If all powerful men were as you, he tells his benefactor one year, "the burthen of [pouertye] would not presse the vertuous so heauelye as in this age it doeth." Having noted that the gift this year has come in good time, "considering the excises loanes contributiones annuityes, taken off vs poore gentlemen," Drummond breaks into a sermon on charity.

Great men can not show nor exercise their magnificence better than in the help and ayding a Necessitous Vertue. To succour and maintaine the necessitous neddye supporte your freindes are the propre effectes of true charitye and nobelitye of this I am a witnesse to aftertymes and confesseth with a testimonye of sincere conscience ... (ff. 115-6).¹

Another and later year (judging by the hand) he seems able to accept his pension with fewer qualms, even to making in his reply an analogy worthy of a man of letters: "at the apparition and lustre of your [good angelles] I confesse I was trulye reallye

1. In this and in many other letters from the later period of Drummond's life he is in the habit of repeating himself in synonyms without punctuation, presumably culling them in the final version.

astonished, as Danae (perhaps) was at her precious showr" (f. 68r).

Poverty reduced Drummond to other indignities, as when he tried to reclaim a bond he had given in his bachelor days to the young daughter of a kinsman, who was now including it within her dowry. "Sith it hath pleased God omnipotent to haue granted me a succession of my own, and that the almighty God hath encreased and augmented your fortunes to the height, and I in these dangerous tymes am fallen weake, and *****¹, your lordship will not out of my spoyles turn your lordship rich" He then appeals to his lordship's generosity and claims that such an action would be naturally esteemed by "all the bondes of nature Humanity and ciuill socitye, I will not say cristiantye" And in an incoherent conclusion he throws all into his petition - "as yee woud wish happinesse and prosperity to your sucssion [succession] on earth, rest to your conscience and eternall happiness in heauen ..." - and even gives a pious reminder that "yee may ouerthrow men by power, but the remorse of the action will adhere eternalye." "I had," he ends, "an intention failing male children of myne to hau intailled all my landes to some of yours" (f. 124).

Besides attempting to recover that which in better days he had given away, Drummond tried to protect what was still left to him. In several of the letters there is evidence of his concern

1. The blank here indicates Sir William Drummond's censorship.

with rents and tacks, with maintaining his boundaries and with obtaining concessions from those land commissioners who so oppressed the lairds during the troubled years of the civil wars and the covenants. By his own account he was the victim of a number of thefts and injustices, for he solicits judges and noblemen to obtain justice (ff. 15r, 107r, 152). "My Lord" he scribbles in one hastily written draft, "... George Whithead of Kingcauill hath secretlie and craftelye [stollen and] purchased a seruice against mee by seruing himselfe heir to the landes of Kingsfeild which I and predecresseures haue these many yeeres possessed without interruption ..." (f. 178v). In another letter he threatens a different oppressor: "I would request your lordship to remembr your selfe than the quarrell, last mee. Your selfe yee are a noble man, the quarrell is some Turfes and mee though I be of small worth in the eyes of your lordship in the ballance of fame I am worth a hudge of Turfes" Low as he had been brought, and insignificant as he might be thought by the mighty, Drummond felt himself "yet sufficientenough to blake your fame and reputation to all tymes" (f. 154).

The later misfortunes of the family sat no more easily on Drummond's heir. Prompted by pride Sir William Drummond went through his father's manuscripts and censored them in a haphazard, stupid way, scoring out as many references to obligation, debt and poverty as struck his eye, yet doing it so clumsily that nothing of matter is left obscure. Of course he may have destroyed some of the more offensive papers, but judging by what

is left this seems unlikely. In his own diary written during the first years after he took up his inheritance Sir William gives an account of a household at Hawthornden so poor he could barely afford to keep a horse over the winter, and when he was, on occasion, reduced to pawning his wife's rings for necessity.¹ This poverty, which seemed odd compared to his father's once modestly affluent position as laird, man of leisure and owner of a considerable library, is now explained: the Drummonds took long to recover from "that terrible processe of Ardrosse."

Little enough of Drummond's personality comes out in his printed "Familiar Letters," but these unprinted fragments are more revealing. He was, even by the standards of his own time, unusually ready to flatter a nobleman, and not all the humbling circumstances of poverty can excuse his frequent obsequiousness. He was capable of being malicious to those he disliked, and it is hard not to suspect that he allowed himself to be most abusive with those least able to defend themselves. He seems to have been particularly nasty to women - if his verses to Kit (see Appendix 3) are a fair sample of his spleen. "Mad[am]" he writes in gentler mood, "As I liue I thinke you one of the palladine ladyes, your imagination hath made such a foole of your wit, to thinke all the world owes you dutye. Where yee deserue

1. "The Diary of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1657-1659," ed. Henry W. Meikle, in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, VII (Edinburgh, 1941), 11-40.

so litle am not I free borne if I haue bought your fauor with 30
 angells, shall I still be your supplicant, no, yee haue no more
 fauours now to bestow nor I to receaue. I commend mee to you"
 (f. 13r). But in a letter "To my lady" (perhaps the unfortunate
 Kit?) he becomes more abusive:

Yee sent mee word yee beare the least respect to mee of
 anay of my name. Inded if yee had anay respect of mee I
 would suspect my selfe guiltie of some horrible vice, and
 examine for what it could be. To beare anay respect to
 mee were to make the world a lyer in your behalfe, for
 there is not a surer argument of true worth in anay then
 when they respect it in an other. And [this would scored
out] proue your affectiones some tymes to giue place to
your reason, when all know such piece of reason as is
 left in you is euer vassall'd to your affectiones. Now
 myne is a fortunate name; eury man of which the lady ...
 hath so alambiked that shee finds better parts in anay man
 of it than in mee. But (perhaps) yee beare no respect to
 mee because yee would haue mee to conquesse and gaine
 respect by some plaintfull sonnets. That was to great a
 worke for your prime and best flourishing dayes for then
 ye was but a pansye now looke to your glasse.

And he adds in an afterthought "for then euer yee was but violet,
 I had almost said a weed" (f. 12r).

Leaving aside such maliciousness, this reference here to his
 craft is typical. Drummond had a very definite opinion of his
 status as a poet, of the respect due unto him, and of the place
 he would be accorded in the registers of fame - to use his own
 expression - by a discerning posterity. He saw himself in the
 same romantic terms that posterity has actually cast him, a
 lonely, melancholy poet, hidden far from the business of court or
 city, a pensive spirit set among the Philistines. "Read these
 verses" he writes in a dedication to George Preston of Craigmillar
 (a powerful neighbour), "bred vnder the calme shades of [your

landes]¹ and written to the notes of the solitarie Nightingal on the bankes of the Eske ..." (f. 131r). "In this age" he says in another dedication,

the greatest part (in other times ielous of learning) vaunt and glorie that they are ignorants, but aboue any knowledge to know the art of the Muses is a shame and an iniurye esteemed ... and so it is but a slender honor done to your lordship to present you with verses. Yet veritye teacheth instructeth vs experience let vs see, that poesye is a heauenly gift, the greatest that can be giuen on earth and a matter so diuine, that all the others which can content the spirit, and make the name immortell, seeme only to be parcelles and members of it (f. 141r).

In a later hand on the same leaf, written after he had given up poetry for history and polemics, he confesses "I am not my selfe, my misfortunes haue changed mee into some thing else ... I neuer made poesie my profession but my pleasure. For myne own solace I vse to sing ..." (f. 141r). On the next leaf he amplifies this: "of the publishing of some of my pieces, I onlie gained this, quod minus ignotus et obscurus, quam antea fuerim. I wryte this vnto you non vt te docere, sed ne vt non tibi parere videat. Would this might appeare as true to you as it proceedeth from true loue ..." (f. 142r).

As we might expect, there are among his later letters many references to the troubled times of the 1640's, to domestic confusion, revolution and the oppressive theocracy of the covenanting party. Drummond as his pamphlets make plain was a conservative monarchist, but he found himself a voice crying in

1. Censored by Sir William. Perhaps Craigmillar bought Drummond's mortgage.

the wilderness.

This kingdom hath fallen neere a Rebellion, after what fashion God knoweth, where the Remedyes are now sought, the preservation might before this haue beene found. The fault is not the kings, nether those who answere for the king. Nether is it those menes who are banished prescriued and casten out. But to speake freelye to your lordship it is the impotencye of the kings Ministers' councell. Rebellion is as a fyre, to be suppressed in the beginning ..." (f. 99r).

He had shown much courage in speaking out, and though his political tracts were never printed in his time, they must have had their effect in manuscript circulation, for he was threatened by a summons before the Circular Tables of the ruling faction.¹ In one letter he justifies his action (somewhat more explicitly than in the speech he prepared for his summons):

The veightiest passages in my papers are that I denye religion should be established by armes. There was an Embleme of old in a certaine Temple an image pourtrated, the picture was of a Rope-maker who did still worke, but suffered an asse which stood behind him to eate it vp.² Thus doe all reformers, who seeke to establish Religion by armes, for whilst they reforme and reforme, the bloudye souldours eate vp relligion behind them and abolish more of it than these Reformers can establish in 40 yeeres, they I saye destroy by their euill liues and wickednesse in one" (f. 155r).

In another place he speaks of an essay that was either left unwritten or destroyed.

I am (by the Grace of God) to vndertake a work which may breed mee great hatred (not onlye amongst my owne nation but amongst strangers), for it is to the staine of these tymes, and those who call themselues Christianes, of what anay sect they be it is all one. It is to proue goodnesse and ciuilitye to haue beene more amongst herethickes then

1. Masson, pp. 390-93.

2. Oknos, one of the inhabitants of Tartaros, eternally plaits a straw rope, which his ass eternally eats.

these now, and for this I haue not onlye reasone but
authoritye of scripture ... (f. 161r).

Whatever this work was - and it seems in its theme a little like
Henri Estienne's polemic Apologie pour Herodote,¹ which set out
to prove that worse things happened, morals were looser, men
wickedder, than was ever described in the classical histories -
it is a symptom of Drummond's own depression, his vision of
himself standing alone against the tide of anarchy.

In one of the few letters that can be even roughly dated,
Drummond in writing to a nobleman in 1641 mentions some pamphlets
he is enclosing "by lake of better wares ... in these curious
tymes" Though I have not succeeded in identifying them,²
I reproduce Drummond's description of them for its own sake - he
was not then so sunk in despair that he could not jest:

By one of them your lordship maye see in what contempte
the Maiestie of princes is brought in this Isle, and
what a disposition this kingdome hath to cautone hauing
printed it ouer againe. The famine piece hath beene long
declamed against, and in parlement by the communes
condemned; which appeareth to haue been occasioned by
the pieces of taille douce in it: for otherwise it is
not of great importance. In the physician there are
some obiectiones of theologie which would haue troubled
our late assemble to solue well. Whom ar now dissolued,
and the Moderator Mr Henderson with Mr R. Duglasse and
others are preparing to see the parlement of England and

1. Library 1033.

2. Judging by titles, none of the three tracts have survived;
at least, I cannot identify them from the annotated (NLS)
Aldis.

the cōuention of the clergie there.¹ There hath beene much sport about the publishing of the proclamation in the kings Name. And it is maintained the king is not where his person is, but wher his great counsell is. And that they daylie doe the same by letters of the signet. And hee is now one of Platoes Ideas or an Vtopian souueraine: thus will it be verye hard to reach him by shot of cannon or musket ..." (f. 108r).

A year or two later (at a guess) commenting upon a letter or speech of a nobleman in a position of power sympathetic to the royalist cause (Montrose, perhaps?) he writes:

My lord, I thinke this last passage of your lordship's farre aboue the first for the bringing in of the King of Scotland to restore the libertyes of this kingdom was not without a great hazard of the state, and the losse of all heere.² But the taking of the occasion of Relligion by the haire is a more assured ground ...

"The least that can follow" Drummond writes matter-of-factly, "vpon these Iarres if a pacification follow is a hudge Taxation and subsidye of which your lordship would assure your selfe to be collectour" (MS 2062, f. 120v).

There is more of this kind of matter, but ignorance of the context, the correspondent and the subject makes reproducing it futile. More interesting are the occasional mentions of people or books we can identify. Most of these are among the earlier letters. Writing to Sir Robert Kerr (in a polished, formal

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1. Alexander Henderson had two terms as Moderator of the Kirk of Scotland, in 1638-9 and 1641-2. During the latter term he travelled to London to consult with the commissioners of the Long Parliament.
 2. This might refer to Charles I's second visit to Scotland in 1641, during which the king hoped to make secret arrangements with Montrose and others to restore royal power.

letter, missed, oddly, by Laing) Drummond plays upon his usual courtesies, and refers to Kerr's unhappy accident or "storne" (which may mean Kerr's unlucky duel with Maxwell and enforced banishment).¹ "The court now steps so like the sea-creuice that wee who are distant, scarce can take vp the wayes. If it loose you it hath loosed an Eie, and mee thinkes (like a pittifull Mother) it laments alreddy your being from it ..." (f. 10r). In a rough draft to an unknown correspondent comes news of the Scots Latinist Leech, whose poems Drummond had in his library: "My brother [Sir John Scot?] desired mee to wryte to you in fauors of Mr Ithon Lech, which I know none needeth to doe who is conscious of your zeale to the Muses, hee expecteth such great matters that I feare in these tymes / where the latin langage is become like their relligion in this Isle / hee come short of his Hopes ..." (f. 62r). He thanks the Earl of Perth for lending him a "curious cabalist," which "long time and much delighted" him, and he congratulates Sir William Alexander on his Doomesday. It is, he thinks, timely: "after such new variety of mutationes and strange accidents, and this coniunction of Saturn and Iupiter of which astrologues tell many wonders, newes and pilpramages [sic] of princes, plagues, famine, I would be glad with all my hart to see youre Doomesday appeare" And he adds "these times which are almost ripe for any scourge" (f. 103r).

One must be wary, for not all of the letters are Drummond's.

1. See DNB.

As in his commonplace books he transcribed prose and poetry that appealed to him, so too in his letter book he copied out letters by others that took his fancy. These can often be detected by their obvious coherence, which contrasts sharply with Drummond's own rough drafts. There are throughout his MSS copies of royal letters, such as some sent by Elizabeth to James VI, and letters on political events, such as the Gunpowder Plot, or Bacon's downfall.¹ There is an interesting series between Sir Robert Kerr and Andrew Ramsay, threats and counter-threats for a duel that never took place. One anonymous letter in the letter book itself must be Drummond's copy of a letter sent to Lord Balmerino, who was accused of compromising James VI by writing letters in his name to Roman Catholic officials, and of negotiating, ultimately, with the Papacy. Drummond was interested in the affair, for there are copies of Balmerino's confession in his first commonplace book.² The letter reads:

To L.B.

My lord I left your Brother playing verye earnestlye at chesse for you, yee did a great wrong to haue giuen your king such a esceke by discouerye ... when yee should haue got mate at the next. To tell you since how the Game goes he hath losed both his Bishops, the les francois les appellent fols, or these which be nearest to the king, alwayes they play at biaze, many of the pioners are by their losse taken. As to the knights there is one hath done you good service, the other keepeth his place, yet at last I thinke ye shall proue Morton a good piece if my lord your Brother can play. Well, why should you giuen your king this checke by discouerye, and so sore that he

1. See Inventory.

2. MS 2059, ff. 34-35.

was forced to take him to his Rooke yet lose more courage. Our aduersaryes haue loosed the best piece of the board, the Amazon, that I thinke shall much equall or hold euen the game.
April, 1608 (f. 16r).

The explanation of this letter can be found in Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland.¹ James in 1608 was busy conducting a polemical controversy with Cardinal Ballarmine, who, in his latest tract, had implied that the king some ten years previous had negotiated with Pope Clement, writing "letters full of courtesie to the Cardinals Aldobrandinus and Bellermine, wherin he craved, that some of the Scottish natioun might be made a cardinall, that by him, as an agent, he might the more easilie and more safelie doe his bussinesse with the Pope." Bellarmine produced the letters to prove his charge, and James was suitably embarrassed. "Secretar Elphinston," Lord Balmerino, was made the scapegoat, and was speedily accused of "dealing with the Pope, and writting to him and his cardinalls; wherupon hath rissin slander upon his Maiestie, and devilish attemptats of the Papists, enraged becaus they found themselves disappointed of the great expectatiouns they had, that the king would become a Catholick."² In a series of letters and statements, Balmerino

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1. David Calderwood, The History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. Rev. Thomas Thomson, Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1842-49), VI, 787-818. The identity of the pieces on the chess board can be guessed at from Calderwood's information: one bishop would be the Bishop of Vaizon, the other probably the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Edward Drummond one knight, and Morton (perhaps) the Vicar of Newcastle.
 2. Calderwood, VI, 789.

then confessed to his crimes.

Another interesting intruder is a copy (f. 104) in Drummond's hand of Ruthven's letter to the Earl of Northumberland, accusing him of being the author of some defamatory verses written against a lady who had rejected him. The letter was written shortly after James's accession to the English throne, and from this evidence it circulated in manuscript. It might well appeal to Scots for Ruthven vowed "that my countrie men and my selfe shall be euer as reddey to sacrifice our blood all for our awne mother Scotland ..." in defence of womanhood and native pride, but Drummond probably admired it for its style, since he imitated its opening phrase "My lord it may be interpretet discretion ..." in one of his own compositions, writing "My lord, it may be interpret presumption" (f. 105r). Ruthven's letter was afterwards printed in the Cabala,¹ the collection of secret and state letters of the reigns of Elizabeth and James.

Such a summary of Drummond's unpublished correspondence as I have given cannot but suffer from the faults of its subject: the letters, it should be repeated, are nearly all rough drafts, incomplete, repetitive, incoherent, and they cover some forty years of Drummond's lifetime. Drummond was in the habit of making perhaps as many as four drafts of a letter, and what we have in his letter book are not the finished works but the first

1. Cabala: sive scrinia sacra. Mysteries of State and Government ... [in 2 parts] (London, 1654), II, 106-7.

attempts. Among the pieces I have not mentioned are many dedications that must have accompanied gifts of his poems, and oddities like an introduction for a young man "hauing an intention for Italie and there to offere his seruice to the famous Republik of Venice" (f. 66r), or an address to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh that must have prefaced some "notes and obseruationes" on the city's history (f. 127r). But these all add to what we know of Drummond, and let us see his interests and preoccupations in a little more detail.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE PIECES

1

Romances

Knowing Drummond's fondness for the Arcadia and other pastoral romances, it is not surprising to find him trying his own hand at the genre. His attempts came to nothing, none are longer than a page or two, but if they are too short for us to judge whether he might have succeeded, they are interesting, and at times unintentionally amusing.

In a piece called "The Hermitage" he begins in full Sidneian flow:

A long the pleasant bankes vher the suoft Ascalon payeth
his tribut to the ocean, vaket the voful Clorus: so
ouercome with sorrow that holding his vatrie eies fixit
on the ground he semed aschemed to behold the sune, who
now beginth to restore the coutours to heer things below,
which the night with her blakeness had couered. No thing
cared he the beautie of the faire meads ... (MS 2061, f. 151r).

Three sentences further on, the fair Clorus is still wandering in his tortured sorrow, and there Drummond leaves him. Judging by the language and the hand, this must have been written close to the year 1610.

In a composition of a later year he has his hero named Alexis, which was his poetic title for his friend Sir William Alexander. Under the title "Alexis Voyage," he gives an extravagant description

of the youth Alexis' reception by the gods.¹ On setting sail, he is greeted rapturously by the winds and the waves, Boreas and the Nereids, Oreithyia and Proteus. Venus directs his ship.

Drummond continues:

as they entred the royall heauen they gaue a shoote of
ioy and Proteus from a high rocke thus welcomed the youth:
Haile youth for beautie and [comelinesse] worthy of a
Scepter. Thou hast run a faire race, but vertues wayes
are difficile. This place is reserued for thee and thy
Caledonians.

The next lines are strange, especially in the mouth of Proteus, and suggest that the piece is not in honour of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, but of his son, the leader of the unlucky Scottish expedition to Nova Scotia.² "Neptune drown the staggering French," the sea god continues, "that Nation that from the Gall to [do?] take their name. O let them not pollute these Virgin coastes." Some lines at the foot of the page again point to the young Sir William, for Alexis is told to "follow the foote-steps of thy father, this Isle too litle was for his braue Muse, a new world must heare his layes."

The piece is quite incomplete, and not at all worked out. (I have quoted the most coherent fragments - the rest is mere effusion.) It all seems overblown - as it stands. If however we put it with the account of the expedition to New Scotland

1. MS 2062, ff. 218v-219r. Part of this piece is transcribed and printed in Thomas H. McGrail, Sir William Alexander (Edinburgh, 1940), pp. 245-6. The transcription is however very faulty.
2. See McGrail, pp. 197-8.

(described below) it takes on a new meaning: it is a celebration or consolation of the young Sir William Alexander's attempt to found a colony on the shores of Nova Scotia. The title "Alexis voyage" becomes clear, and the damning of the French nation - "Neptune drown the staggering French" - makes sense when we consider that it was French opposition that destroyed the chances of the colony of New Scotland. The Earl of Stirling was the architect of the colonizing: "a new world must heare his layes."

Another piece opens in a romantic strain:

It was the month when the sune entred Geminie when I found
 *** her solitarie pensieue, the window one halfe was open
 to late in the fresh aire, her hand lay vnder [her] snowie
 chin, her haire about her eiene. The Moone would fane
 haue made a day of the blacke Night &c. When I asked her
 why she sat so pensieue, O God, said she, I haue oft
 thought of our life but now I thinke of our death. If it
 should please heauens to part the from me - and giuing so
 sweet a sigh that it was impossible to imagine the
 swetnesse of it, laying her weeping cheeke to mine ...
 (MS 2062, f. 7v)

- but at this moment the mood of courtly amorousness subsides,
 as the lady is answered soberly that since "wee cannot leaue
 thess cassills till it please him that pleased vss in them, wee
 must referre all to time, and vsse the present." Perhaps this
 was a personal reminiscence, for it ends rather charmingly
 "that day was more sweet to me then all the Time of my life.
 Let the Caesars tell of their monting the Capitolle in
 [Triumphant?] chariot, the AEGiptians of their building &c.
 This is that wherin I die"

The last passage is so revealing, so personal, that I feel
 uncomfortable in drawing attention to it, for it is as though I

I had caught Drummond admiring himself in a mirror. It is, in effect, a little eulogy to himself, in rough draft, uncorrected:

Δρουμμονδος [Drummond] drawing descriuing [writing of singing inserted] earthly Beautye and loue so beautifullye [and of a mortall prince inserted] and loulye [princelye inserted] and performed it that multis parasangis he left all other of [all the Muses of Albion inserted] behind him and ouersang them. Now writing of heaunlye beauty and loue and praising the eternall king of this vniuerse he hath ouer-runne and out-matched [ouerflowen inserted] himselfe.¹ Orpheus the sone of Calliope by his excellent straines notes verse relieued his Euridace from Hell, [who yet returned thither inserted]. This Muse draweth thowsands to the bright shining Towres of Olympus. If Albions langage were [by tyme inserted] to perish it might be should be preserued by thes δια ποιηματα noble poemes. The angelles apearingly shall sing such songs as these in heauen after the dissolution of this earth (MS 2061, f. 146r).

Well, we all like to write our own press notices.

1. This must refer to his Flowres of Sion.

PLATE IX. Drummond's eulogy to himself
(MS 2061, f. 146r)

Writing of Love
 Dear Mr. D. I am writing to you
 and of a more delicate and
 so beautiful and pure
 I have left all else behind me and only
 writing of your beauty and love and praise
 of your virtues and your own
 and out of myself.

Ozgeons for some of Calliope by go excellent strains
not better beloved of Euridice from Hell than
Musa fames ~~prophets~~ dulcet hillsands To her
Gisela Spins Tears of Olympus.
~~If we English tongue~~ Albus Eugene were to peruse
It might seem to be preferred by her due translation
noble poems

noble poems
The angels appearing shall be sung
to life in power after the resurrection of
the body

There is a certaine moment ⁱⁿ time, and a certaine ven-
counter of causes in affaires which being passed, neede
meet againe together and we have faile to attend and
expect the effect, when the causes cesse & be au-
enoughed

In praise of allegory and letters

In the same volume as his letters are two short pieces, which, though obviously rough drafts, are worth reporting for what they add to our knowledge of Drummond's literary opinions. The first is a passage praising allegory in poetry, especially the heroic. Drummond calls allegory "the noblest and rarest worthiest part of poesie," and goes on to claim that without it "poeticall compositiones especialie the great would should be nothing else but a vain sound to fill the eares of Idle men" Poetry may delight, but allegory instructs: if we but consider the secret mysteries of poetical allegories we may be led to knowledge of the highest things in moral and natural philosophy.

Drummond then runs through a number of classical allegories - "the mariage of Venus Goddesse of Beautie with Vulcan God of fire, that is of concupiscence, the effects of pride are descriued in Phaeton, the workes of auarice are pointed at in Midas ..." and praises as learned the allegories of the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Aenead. "The allegories of the antientes went aboue matteres of philosophie and to make a man naturalie vertuous." And he concludes: "but I hold that the best poetes first make ther fictiones and then applye them to allegories" (MS 2061, f. 143r).

There is little that need be said about Drummond's views here except to note that as usual they are orthodox. It was

commonly held that allegory could be used to add moral instruction to a poem, for as Sidney in his Defence of Poesie pointed out, fables and allegories preach universal rather than particular truths: "... the Poet is the food for the tendrest stomachs, the Poet is indeed, the right populer Philosopher. Whereof Esops Tales give good prooffe, whose prettie Allegories stealing under the formall Tales of beastes, makes many more beastly then beasts: begin to hear the sound of vertue from those dumbe speakers."¹

In his translation of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso (which Drummond read and took copious notes on) Sir John Harington wrote at length on the subject. After giving a simple definition of allegory, he claims that "men of greatest learning and highest wit in auncient times, did of purpose conceale these deepe mysteries of learning ..." for a variety of good reasons: for decoration, so they might hide their truths from the ignorant, and that they might offer entertainment and instruction to all at several levels of profundity. He cites the usage of Aristotle and Plato. He gives an example: the story of Perseus, son of Jupiter, who slew the Gorgon and afterwards went up to heaven, is an allegory, in the historical sense, in the moral sense, in the "high and heauenly" sense and in the theological

1. The Defence of Poesie in The Complete Works, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912-26), III, 16.

sense.¹

Against the complexity of such a theory of allegory, Drummond's few remarks are tantalizing in their incompleteness. He makes no mention of modern allegories, of how allegories should be interpreted (that is, how precisely they should be interpreted), or whether it was legitimate for a reader to supply his own allegorical interpretation. His contemporaries were arguing these points,² but if Drummond knew of the controversies there is no hint of it here.

His essay "In praise of letters" is no more informative, since it too ends abruptly after saying very little at some length. He begins by stating that since man is a rational being, and has speech and understanding, being set above the brute animals, he is able to

see the causes and draw out the consequences of things, compare together such as are like and distinguish what are different, remember what is past, and conioyne the present with that which is to come, consider the whole estate and condition of his life, and provide himself with all necessaries for the happye and contented passing of his pilgrimage vpon Earth.

To this end - to cut a long story short - "there is no such helpe and meanes to perfect his knowledge and accomlishe those his desyres as that of Letters ..." (MS 2061, f. 147r).

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1. Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando Furioso in English heroical verse, trans. Sir John Harington (London, 1607), f. 4r-v.
 2. For a summary of allegorical theories and controversies see Rhodes Dunlap, "The Allegorical Interpretation of Renaissance Literature," PMLA, LXXXII (1967), 39-43.

New Scotland: the expedition of 1628

Drummond had many interests beyond literature, and though he was little more than a spectator of the affairs of his time, his habit of writing down what he heard and saw means that his MSS are occasionally useful as a source of historical detail. One fragment in his letter book (MS 2061, ff. 148-50) describes an expedition to Nova Scotia, taken, probably, from the first-hand account of its leader Sir William Alexander, on his return to Scotland. Drummond was an admirer and a friend of Sir William's father, the Earl of Stirling, and it is natural that he should have been keen to learn news of the success of New Scotland.

In the summer of 1628 a company of Scots led by Sir William Alexander had sailed to what is now Nova Scotia to set up a colony.¹ After crossing the Atlantic the expedition divided: some sixty colonists under Lord Ochiltree landed on Cape Breton island near the present port of Louisburg, while the rest of the party sailed to the Bay of Fundy, and established themselves on the Granville shore near the old French fort of Port Royal, which had been attacked, reduced and evacuated by Captain Gervase Kirke's force the year before. Kirke had returned - probably accompanying the colonists as far as Nova Scotia - to complete

1. The date is in doubt; the expedition may not have gone until 1629. See McGrail, pp. 240-45, for a discussion of this question.

his conquest of Champlain and the French garrison in Quebec, and with Champlain's subsequent surrender the prospects of New Scotland looked good. In fact, Lord Ochiltree's settlement on Cape Breton did not last the summer, but was destroyed by a Captain Daniel of Dieppe, who captured the entire colony and returned to Europe with them, landing some 40 non-combatants at Falmouth, and removing Lord Ochiltree and sixteen others of some quality to France, where they were uncomfortably imprisoned for months before their release could be secured. Alexander's plantation at Port Royal had a somewhat longer life, and was only abandoned in 1632 when by a political decision Acadia (that is, Nova Scotia) and Lower Canada were returned to the French.¹

These Scottish expeditions were financed by the device of selling titles to those who had the position, and of course the cash, and at the centre of these schemes was the Earl of Stirling. Much is known now about how the Nova Scotian baronetcies were recruited, and with what measure of royal support² - but nothing, or next to nothing, is known about the daily life of the actual expeditions. The following relation, then, goes some way to filling the gap; it is fragmentary and unfinished, but it is clearly an eye-witness account of the expedition of 1629.

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1. George Pratt Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes (Glasgow, 1922), pp. 75-9.
 2. See Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to the colonization of New Scotland ... 1621-1638, ed. David Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1867).

It is tempting to suppose that Drummond himself went to Nova Scotia, for the details of the trip are fresh and occasionally vivid, and unusually circumstantial. But this is most improbable. Drummond was then in his forty-fourth year, and not in the best of health, and it is unlikely that he would have ever considered leaving Hawthornden for such an adventure. His biographer David Masson does it is true have a biographical gap we might fill by dispatching Drummond across the Atlantic,¹ but even if we could fit in the dates correctly - Drummond would have to return almost immediately - there is strong evidence in his manuscripts that he never left home.² The account with its occasional use of the pronoun "they" (rather than "we") would also suggest what must be the truth - that the eye-witness was not Drummond, but Sir William or one of his fellow adventurers.

New-Scotland³

The 24 of May being Wadinsday about sune rising wee weighed anchor from the Downes. The 26 they meet the Hollanderes fleet whom wee supposed to be Dunkerkeres and prepared for fight which gaue them a shot or two.⁴ The

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1. Masson, pp. 165-73.
 2. In his "Memorials" (see Inventory) he records being sick of a fever in February, 1629, and kept five weeks in his chamber.
 3. This is transcribed and printed in McGrail, pp. 236-8, but since the transcription is inaccurate and confused (and does much injustice to Drummond's powers of reporting) I think it worth while giving my own version.
 4. Being at war with France, they were prepared to fight.

31 wee espied a saile at sea and found her Captaine Greene of Douer who had a prize loaden with sugar and tobacco. The 14 and 15 of Iune they saw (met scored through) sundry great Islandes of Ice. The 19 wee were in danger of a Rocke of Ice by a great mist about 8 of the cloke. Wee discovered that day land which was the North side of terre Neues.¹ There anchoring at St. Iohns Harbour wee saw Mountaines of Ice where there is a faire Herbrye to receaue many ships and the land though cold well stored with Herbes as salsaperilla, fitches, scuruie leaf, scrulbye graise [?].² There was baptised a chyld of 2 yeeres old. The 1 of Agust wee came in sight of Cap Britane. The 2 day wee coasted for the cap and port anglois,³ where there were two fisher botes. Heere wee found a port called port ballanc, 2 leagues from port anglois. Ochiltree heere planted and by the aduice of Captaine Ogilby built (a small scored through) fort on a small Rocke, with three small piece of ordonance. The fort named Rosemarim. Heere was a sermon the 5 day being Sunday, out of the 111 ps1.: The feare of the lord is the begining of Wisdome. The 14 wee left cap Britaine, the 28 anchored befor port Royall in the night cam in. As wee sailed vp the riuer some 3 leagues from the entrye is an Island stored with faire Trees. Sailing higher wee saw two fortes, one of Potrincourts another of la Tours.⁴ Disliking both wee aduanced to a place fortified by Nature toward the sea and land hauing on the east of it a small riuer portable of shippes of 300 tunes.⁵ The 1 of

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1. Terre Neues is Newfoundland; St. Johns and Cape Breton can be found on a modern map.
 2. John Manningham mentions that the juice of "scouruy-grasse" was used as a tonic in a recipe for springtime ale; The Diary of John Manningham, Camden Society 99 (London, 1868), p. 46.
 3. This name has now disappeared, though Port aux Anglois is marked on Blaeu's atlas of 1662; see vol. XI, pp. 21-2.
 4. These forts were abandoned, having been attacked the previous year by Captain Kirke. Pontrincourt was one of the first French settlers at Port Royal, being there as early as 1604. Claude de la Tour, a French Protestant, was taken prisoner by Kirke, and agreed to work against his fellow countrymen.
 5. For the precise site of Alexander's settlement at Port Royal see McGrail's discussion, pp. 235-6.

Septem^{br} (Iune scored through) was the foundation layd in nomene sanctæ et indiuidiæ Trinitatis, the preacher being called by the generall. The 2 day there was a sermon, Lucke 12 cap. v. 31.: feare not litle floke for it is your fathers will to giue you the kingdom. The plot of the fort was drawn by Captain Ogilbye in forme of a pentagon with workes offensiue and defensiue, eight pieces of ordonance planted, 4 demicoluerin and 4 miniones. The 20 came 2 sauages in a canow, which [was] a vessell the ribes of which where knit with wicker being of small firre lined with the barke of Trees, with two oares made in fashion of the peeles for pasties, swift in rowing. They had their wives and children. Their Richesse is kettles, dishes of rindes of Trees, plentie of doggs like to foxes. They were naked with Mantles of beauer or deare leather tyed ouer the left shoulder with a point whang [thong]. Their bodies are comlie, long blacke haire cut to a lenth before, after the fashion of the court of England (that yee would sweare they had perrukes - blake eyes, long limnes, swartish coloured - they loue [each] other extreamlie, feast till [their] meat be gone and ther store. They are subtill and nimble fingerd toward, their wordes are not long and copious, Their dwelling is vnder a Tree couering themselues with branches and rindes. They can fast three or 4 dayes. Great Mourners for their Dead. The 14 day came 9 sauages in a shallope from St. Ihons Riuer with beauer skines and hydes, gaue the generall a present. The 15 there was a sermon in the fort (MS 2061, ff. 148-9r).

(A fragment of a later passage) They did sent out the land, the odoriferous Trees sent a perfumd vapour, which passed the sents of Arabia farre in the seas. The sassefrass, the Birch, the Rodian Trees sent clouds of perfume a long the Maine.¹ cider [?].

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1. This seems to refer to a voyage of exploration towards Maine and the south.

A defence of what was questioned in Forth Feasting

In Drummond's volume of poems (MS 2062, ff. 237-40) is a rough draft of a letter probably intended for Sir William Alexander, defending a line in his own poem Forth Feasting. Alexander seems to have written to him telling him that King James himself had objected to the words "No Guard so sure as Loue vnto a Crowne,"¹ that they were disputed as "a maxime of state," and that "the contrarie was argued that it is better to gouerne a people by feare than by loue." Drummond must have thought that his opinion needed some explanation, though he is obviously surprised that so orthodox a "maxime" met with royal disapproval.

He begins his defence by remarking that it is both an old and a new question, and then claims that he does "but assent to what great wits had long since concluded." Under six heads he argues his case. (His arguments are not expressed very coherently, but lest I do Drummond an injustice, it is as well to remember that this is a rough draft.) First, he notes that love is nobler than fear.² Love is everywhere, for love comes from

1. Forth Feasting, l. 246; Kastner, I, 149.

2. Love and fear as defined in natural philosophy: in the Renaissance systematization of Aristotelian physics the sentient appetites were divided into two chief parts or faculties, the concupiscible and the irascible. A particularly Christian refinement of this organization, such as given by Franciscus Titelmann in his (continued overleaf)

God, and on God a prince must model himself. Secondly, love was the instigator of man's social institutions, his cities, laws and rulers, for man first raised these up from a love of company. Next, experience has shown that those princes that rule by fear are soon deposed, while those that rule by love thrive. Fourth, love is more universal and natural than fear. A prince cannot be feared without being hated, and hatred breeds his ruin. Fifth - and in this and the next head Drummond repeats himself - a prince should behave as a shepherd to his flock, and when he needs to punish he should do it with humanity. (Under a sub-head of "obiectiões against this opinion" he goes on to say that by executing justice a prince does not make his subjects fear him, and love is not bought by gifts. Octavius was an example of a beloved prince who maintained justice.) Under his last head, Drummond lists examples of princes who have ruled by love and not by fear, or who have gained honour by clemency: Philip King of Macedon, Alexander the Great and Trajan. Nero he quotes as an example of a ruler who tried both systems, governing in love for

(continued from previous page) Compendium naturalis philosophiae (Paris, 1545), made love, as Drummond wrote, "the principall end marke of the concupiscible parte." As Titelmann puts it: "simpliciter tamen amor in concupiscibili est prima radix omnium aliarum passionum." (pp. 209-10). The more usual arrangement, however, seems to have been that adopted by the Ramists, who balanced the concupiscible and irascible parts one against the other (being, of course, opposites), and likewise balanced their constituent parts. Thus Johannes Scharfius in his Physica (Lipsius, 1626) subdivided the concupiscible faculty into the three parts laetitia, amor, and spes, and the irascible faculty into tristitia, metus and ira. (See Book 7, Chap. III.)

his first five years, and ending his reign in terror.

These arguments of Drummond's are commonplaces of Renaissance monarchical theory, and his line "No Guard so sure as Loue vnto a Crowne" is as unexceptional an expression of political orthodoxy as one could hope to find. No wonder he felt himself hard done by - almost everyone, popular writers or scholars, agreed that a country ruled by fear was unhappy, unstable and immoral. The Arcadia itself exemplified the argument: Euarchus was the epitome of the cardinal virtues, an uncorrupted example to his people; Basilius, wrapped in his own base desires, left his country open to chaos and insurrection.¹ The courtesy books echoed the common opinion, as Guazzo in The Ciuile Conuersation put it: "there is nothing more hurtfull then to bee hated ... [and] nothing more helpfull then to bee loved." And he concluded "that a good Prince ought to purchase to him selfe the name of the father of his Countrie"²

Renaissance theory was based on classical, with a leavening of Christian teaching. The ancients had generally held that a prince should be good, and his rule was likely to be most successful if he behaved humanely. Plato described his ideal king as a philosopher king, and likened him to a shepherd.

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1. See Walter R. Davis "A Map of Arcadia," in Sidney's Arcadia, (New Haven, 1965), pp. 146 et seq. for a discussion of this point.
 2. Translated by George Pettie, Tudor Translations (London, 1925), I, 208-9. As an example of a contemporary expression of the theory, Ben Jonson's dictum that "the mercifull Prince is safe in love, not in feare ..." is typical. See his Discoveries, Herford and Simpson, VIII, 600.

Aristotle distinguished the absolute ruler from the tyrant, the first ruling according to the law and his subjects' consent, the other despotically, without regard to the wishes or needs of his people.¹ The Romans reiterated the same commonplaces: a king, bearing the most responsibility and having the most power in the state, should, ideally, be the wisest and most virtuous man, an example to all his subjects. If he ruled well, it was because he was good; if he ruled badly, he stood in danger of becoming a tyrant.² The Renaissance writers repeated what they found in Aristotle's Politica and in Cicero's Officina, and restated virtue as Christian duty. Some, like George Buchanan and Jean Bodin, proceeded to develop the concept of the mutual responsibilities of king and subject, and to open the question of whether it was ever right for an oppressed people to rebel and

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1. The most important text to the Renaissance was undoubtedly Aristotle's Politica. Drummond had this in his library. Aristotle's first concern was to categorize and evaluate the various types of government, and in so doing he made the important distinction the absolute monarch and the tyrant. The first acted as the guardian of his people, the second treated them as his prey. Aristotle pointed out that the effects of tyrannical cruelty were unrest and revolution. See especially Politica, Chaps. V, VIII.
 2. See the summary of classical and medieval ideas of kingship in the introduction of Lester K. Born's translation of Erasmus' The Education of a Christian Prince (New York, 1936), pp. 44-130.

overthrow a tyranny.¹

Of the writers that we can be sure that Drummond read, three can be taken as representative: Erasmus, Buchanan and King James himself.² Erasmus in The Education of a Christian Prince came down heavily on the side of love as a crown's best guard: "... when you hold people bound to you through fear, you do not possess them even half. You have their physical bodies, but their spirits are estranged from you. But when Christian love unites the people and their prince, then everything is yours"³ Buchanan in his most important treatise De Jure Regni apud Scotos said much the same: "I would have him [the

1. George Buchanan's De Jure Regni apud Scotos defended the people's right to depose a sovereign if he (or she - since the specific monarch was Mary Queen of Scots) had become a tyrant; this was revolutionary doctrine for 1579, and particularly relevant to the civil wars of the next century. In his political pamphlets Drummond however supported the orthodox monarchical theory. Jean Bodin's Les six Livres de la Republique can be seen as supporting the monarch against his subjects: Bodin's first concern was to define the qualities of sovereignty, and he concluded that a tyrant was as much a sovereign, and had as much right to his power, as the most upright of kings. The tyrant would of course be punished for his misdeeds by God (James used this same argument: in his speech of 1609, for instance, he told the Commons that a king was punished by God's laws, not man's).
2. Drummond had the quoted works in his library, and judging by the tone of his arguments in his letter, he was remembering or quoting from them.
3. Erasmus, op.cit., p. 180.

king] loved by his people and protected by his people's goodwill, not by their dread of him, for these are the only weapons which make kings unconquerable."¹ (Buchanan reiterated Aristotle's distinction between a good king and a tyrant, and gave examples of the unpleasant fates of tyrants: Drummond may have drawn on these, and he may have gathered his argument that love was the first principle of society from Buchanan's eighth heading.) James himself had much to say on the position and duties of a king. In the Basilicon Doron he holds to a view of monarchy which owes much to the Old Testament, and sees kingship as patriarchal. The tyrant (in Aristotle's distinction) thinks the people are his prey, while the good king seeks his subjects' good, and acts "as their naturall father and kindly maister."² In his later writings and speeches James's view of monarchy became yet more glorified. A king could be compared not only to a father of a family, or to a head of a body, but to a god. Though he should be a paragon of the Christian virtues, a king was beyond the laws of man. He was only answerable to God.³

There is nothing in James's writings apart from this autocratic tone which might have led Drummond to suspect that his

1. Buchanan, op.cit., translated Duncan H. MacNeill (Glasgow, 1964), p. 49.
2. Basilicon Doron, edited James Craigie, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1944-50), I, 54.
3. See The Speech of 1609, in The Political Works of James I ed. Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard Political Classics (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 307.

king did not subscribe to the common opinion that "No Guard so sure as Loue vnto a Crowne." Even James's stern advice to kings to settle first their countries with the "seueritie of justice" before thereafter mixing justice with mercy (given in the Basilicon Doron) was normal Renaissance theory, and Sidney had Euarchus behave in just this fashion.¹

In his own writings Drummond held to a middle course. He agreed with James that "Kings were raised to govern People, by Almighty God,"² but his criticism of the conduct of Charles shows that he felt that a king should be wise and responsible as well as Divinely enthroned. He distrusted Buchanan's theories of the rights of the people, and mocked his De jure Regni apud Scotos in a satire.³ On the particular question of rule by love or fear he said:

The impregnable Fortress of a Prince is the Love of his Subjects, which doth only arise from the Height of his Clemency⁴

Yet the opposing argument was well-known, even notorious.

"I am not ignorant," Drummond said in his letter, "that new

1. Davis, loc.cit., p. 148.

2. Works (1711), p. 175.

3. "Considerations to the Parliament," Works (1711), p. 185. Drummond recommended that "Buchanan's Chronicle shall be translated into the vulgar Scottish, and read in the common Schools; and the Books of the Apocrypha being taken away from the Bible, his Book, De jure Regni, be in the Place thereof insert."

4. Works (1711), p. 173.

politicians would persuade princes of the contrarie," that it was indeed better to rule by fear rather than love. Apparently neither was James, for he expressed this "maxime of state" in the same phrase as the first of the new politicians - Machiavelli. The seventeenth chapter of The Prince is concerned with this very argument: "Of cruelty, and clemency, and whether it is better to be belov'd, or feared."¹ Machiavelli's arguments are short and brutal. They are based upon the belief that men are naturally evil, and respond better to the rod than the reward. Expediency is all; the good of the state comes before personal virtue. A prince should not seek to avoid cruelty, if he must be cruel for the general good: "it is impossible for a new Prince to avoyd the name of cruell, because all new States are full of dangers." It is, secondly, much safer for a prince to be feared than loved, for "love is held by a certainty of obligation, which because men are mischeivous, is broken upon any occasion of their owne profit. But feare restrains with a dread which never forsaks a man."² However, Machiavelli concludes, a king can be feared and yet not hated, for if he is fair and observes the law, and does not exploit his subjects, yet though he is not loved, he will be respected.

Such opinions would surely have been anathema to James, with

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1. The Prince, trans. Edward Dacres (repr. London, 1929), pp. 74-8. Drummond had a copy of the French translation (see Library 1092).
 2. Ibid., pp. 75-6.

his grand concept of himself as father, head or god. The dispute must have been academic, and Drummond's hurried, touchy letter was in all probability, superfluous.

The land of Amauria

Bound into one of William Fowler's volumes of manuscripts (MS 2066, ff. 70-71) are two leaves containing in Drummond's hand a curious composition in a very rough draft. Here is a transcript of it:

Wee sayled from the Anticyra where after a Monethes staye on that famous Hill between Thessalia and Macedonie renowned by the death and sepulcher of Hercules wee continued our course towards Creta, to view the Tombe of Iupiter and the new laberynth at the foot of the Hill Ida. After two dayes a Tempest arose, the aire turned blake and wee held an vncertaine way with the losse of our maine mast and the necessarye ornements of our ship. Our course was farre towards the North and to the pole is eleuated neare 55 degrees. Land appeared a farre off and wee deliberated till wee had repaired againe our ship to drawe vnto it. As wee wee [sic] came towards the kenning, a ship came from the land, and wee obseruing her the windes being weak and the sea calme shoote [?] our boote [?] towards,¹ shee gentlye receaued our Men, demanded of our intentiones, and
 Sether desired some graue persone to come aboard of his ship. Which done, hee told the land was Amauria, the
 Macleb inhabitantes latlie turned most part Mad and that it was not good for vs to stay any tyme in that land, that hee was flying out of [it]. Wee tendered him many Thankes [and] returned to our Ship, and because of our present necessity wee aproched the shore.

1 apparition

A number of Men walking vpon stiltes caryed an Image of a large quantitye made of paper but appeared all gold with out vpon which was written calfe anant.

1. The sense of this phrase must be that "wee" sailed our boat towards the other boat.

2 apparition

A long Gallerye wherin were many picturs of the battailles of the Amaurians amongst themselues.

3

Myne host tooke of our Best Hellebore and had his braines purified.

4

The oraturs speech in commendation of calfe anant.

5

The people on their knees worshipping calfe anant.

6

The Newes came that the king of the Amaurians was beheaded by his owne subiects which made vs, our ship ther being amended and rigged, to returne to the seas.

7

71v The Amaurians parlement, where they beheaded some of the wisest, and [those] who had perswaded them to returne to their wittes and take of our Hellebore.

8

The physitians bought of our Hellebore and gaue it to sundrye persons who recouered their iudgementes.

The Delphian prestes

The oratores.

X for Iames the first. X in this yee rather receaue than bestow a benefit.

9

a Man carying about Baltazares head by the smoke wherof armyes dyes. An vther Baltazars belt, by which none sink in the watter.

In his inventory of the Fowler MSS Henry Meikle declines to commit himself to a precise description of this

PLATE X.

Some of the "apparitions" seen in Amauria
(MS 2066, f. 71v)

7

The American people and the people of the
 United States and the people of the world
 are all united in the love of our country

8

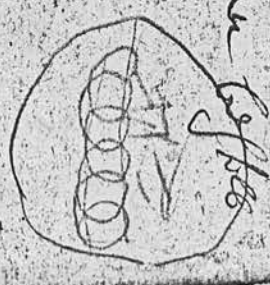
The President of the United States
 is the most powerful man in the world

The American people

The American people

X The American people
 are all united in the love of our country

a man who is about 6 feet tall
 and weighs about 150 pounds



piece,¹ but I think there can be no doubt that the "Amauria" is the first draft of a political satire referring to events in Scotland during the 1640's. Though much of it is cryptic and precise dating is difficult, we can suggest a few explanations. First, Anticyra: this town in classical times had the reputation of being the chief source of the medicinal plant hellibore, and hellibore was supposed to cure madness. Thus "wee" sail to Amauria with a cargo of sanity. "Our course was farre towards the North and to the pole is eleuated neare 55 degrees ..." means that Amauria begins at this latitude, which places it north of Newcastle, in other words, it is Scotland. The name Amauria is taken from the Greek word *αμαυρος*, meaning dark, dim, faint or obscure. We might note that Amaurote was the capital of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and that Rabelais wrote of the Amaurotes, a people invaded by the Dipsodes. "The inhabitantes" Drummond says of Amauria, "latlie turned most part Mad"

Reaching Amauria, "wee" see a number of "apparitions." The first is men walking on stilts (men elevating themselves above their true station?) carrying an image labelled "calfe anant," that is, Covenant.² It is (significantly) made of paper, "but appeared all gold with ut" The second apparition is of the gallery where the pictures show the battles "of the Amaurians

1. Meikle, III, xlvi.

2. I am indebted to Professor Gordon Donaldson for this suggestion. In the worship of "calfe anant" there is clearly a reference to the Golden Calf.

amongst themselues" - an obvious reference to the bloody history of civil strife in Scotland. In the third and the eighth apparitions first "myne host" and then "sundrye persons" take hellebore and recover their judgement, and the fourth and fifth show the praise and worship of the Covenant. The sixth and seventh are propheticall, for not only do they mention the beheading of "some of the wisest," but they tell of the beheading of the king "by his owne subiects."¹ I have not been able to discover what is meant by Baltazar's head or belt, nor can I suggest what "X for Iames the first, X in this yee rather receaue than bestow a benefit" means, apart from the obvious references to James VI and I. The names "Sether" and "Macleb," which Drummond places in the margin against the description of the leader whose ship encounters "our" ship, and who tells "us" that the land is Amauria, are also mysteries.

It is difficult to decide what the most relevant year would be for this satire, although we can say it must belong to the period of the civil wars in the 1640's. Judging from the handwriting, I would be inclined to date it near 1646 or perhaps even later. It seems a production quite typical of Drummond, in its attitudes scathing of the fanaticism of the Covenanting party; in its form abstruse, but correct in classical references, worthy of a literary man. Like so many of his literary remains, its incompleteness makes it the more tantalizing.

1. This may have been intended as a parable; Professor Donaldson points out that Drummond was probably assuming that the natural consequence of rebellion was regicide.

The History of the Lives and Reigns
of the Five Jameses

Drummond's History in its several drafts fills five volumes of the Hawthornden MSS; it is the most ambitious of his works, and yet the most neglected. Professor Masson called it "a performance of very little value," and judged it disappointing and well-nigh unreadable, derivative history, dully written.¹ I do not entirely agree with that judgement, and though I do not wish to discuss the History in detail, I will add some notes on points that arise from a study of the MSS, that may mitigate a little its harshness.

First, we can supply from the MSS the names of the authors that Drummond read while writing his History. The following list is based on his own references and marginalia throughout the various drafts.

MS 2053

John Stow,	<u>The annales, or generall chronicle of England.</u>	f. 1v
Niccolo Machiavelli,	<u>Historie Fiorentine</u> (<u>Library 1240</u>).	f. 108v
Hector Boethius,	<u>Scotorum historiae</u> (<u>Library 427</u>).	ff. 137v, 162v, 166v, 184v.
Joannes Ferrerius,	<u>Historia.</u>	ff. 150v, 183v.
John Leslie,	<u>De origine, moribus, et</u> <u>rebus gestis Scotorum libri</u> <u>decem.</u>	f. 217v.

1. Masson, pp. 469 et seq.

MS 2054

Jean de Serres,	<u>Inuentaie general de l'histoire de France (Library 1152).</u>	ff. 11v, 22r.
Raphael Holinshed,	<u>The chronicles.</u>	f. 215v.
Leslie,	<u>op.cit.</u>	ff. 215v, 247v, 250v, 268v, 288v, 289r, 309v, 311v, 338v, 339v.
Ferreries,	<u>op.cit.</u>	ff. 256v, 286v, 289v, 296v, 297v, 298v, 303v, 305v, 322v, 329v.
Boethius,	<u>op.cit.</u>	f. 246v.
Sir Philip Sidney,	<u>The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia (Library 916).</u>	f. 332v.

MS 2055

Leslie,	<u>op.cit.</u>	ff. 117r, 170v, 183v, 218v, 329r.
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I will not comment on these works, other than to note that there are no surprises in Drummond's choice of authorities. As far as one can tell from a first inspection of the History, he used no primary sources, but relied on the standard works that were available to him.¹

Next, it should be emphasized that Drummond's intention was not to write a factual account of a period of history, but to

1. I am indebted to Dr. T. I. Rae for several useful discussions on the History. Since Dr. Rae is in the process of examining Drummond's History, I have confined myself here to the points that emerge from study of the MSS themselves.

present a case for his own political opinions. His History is propaganda for responsible monarchism. He began it in earnest during the years when Charles I and his parliaments were nursing their quarrels; he completed it while the country was engaged in civil war. Drummond preached toleration and responsibility, while around him he saw nothing but fanaticism and factionalism. He was too as critical of the king's weaknesses as he was of the extremism of the Covenanting party.

Read in this light the History becomes not ordinary and tedious, but outspoken and even brave. In his models the five Jameses he found examples of the complete sovereign, whose conduct was a guide to the present age. He chided their mistakes, moralized on their weaknesses, and castigated their sins. On their subjects he was no less judicious, preaching obedience and loyalty, denouncing unrest, schism and rebellion. We can have no doubt that he wished his History to be a text for the times.

His theme is the mutual bond between king and subject, maintained by the good behaviour of both. This he welds on to the unpromising material at his command, the confused and bloody strife of five troubled reigns: James I was murdered, James II killed in battle, James III killed in a civil war with his son, James IV killed at Flodden, while James V, although he did die in his bed, died young, defeated, with his country in ruins. Of James I Drummond says "... the excellent Prince by doing well himself, had taught his Subjects so to do"¹ - an echo of

1. Works (1711), p. 16.

Castiglione's opinion that "the greatest prooffe that the Prince is good, is whan the people are good"¹ His judgements however are not so much on the kings he describes, as on his contemporaries:

There is no Prince more cruel than he, who by a Facility and evil measured Pity, suffers Robberies, Rapes, Murders, and all sort of Oppression and Abuses to overturn his Country, in which a whole State is interested, when the strictest Justice toucheth but some particular Persons (p. 16).²

Couragious Princes are not to be provoked by any Subject how great soever: Confederations and Leagues are fearful Attempts against Sovereignty, and for the most part end with the Ruine of their Authors (p. 36).

This King [James III] is by the most condemned, as a Rash, Imprudent, Dangerous Prince: Good People make good Kings; when a People run directly to oppose the Authority of their Sovereign, and assume Rebellion and Arrogancy for Obedience, resisting his fairest Motions and most profitable Commandments: If a King be Martial, in a short Time they are beaten and brought under: If he be Politick, Prudent and Foreseeing in a longer Time (as wild Deer) they are surprized, and either brought back to their first Order and Condition, or thral'd to greater Miseries. If he be Weak and suffer in his Reputation or State or Person by them, the Prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the Revenger of his Wrongs. And all Conspiracies of Subjects, if they prosper not in a high Degree, advance the Sovereignty (p. 60).

... a wise Prince should be slow and loath to engage himself in a War, although he hath suffered some Wrong. He should consider that of all humane Actions and Hazards there is no One of which the Precipitation is so dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a War (p. 78).

Princes should remember, that as the People are their Subjects, so are they the Subjects of Time and Providence (p. 115).

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1. The Book of the Courtier, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby, Tudor Translations (London, 1900), p. 315.
 2. References in the text are to the Works (1711).

... a Prince perisheth when he is governed by only one Sort of Men (p. 115).

The reigns of the five Jameses served well enough to illustrate the problems of monarchy, but Drummond was unwilling to rest there. His country was being destroyed in the name of religion; his readers should learn his opinions on this, the most crucial of all debates. And so into the History he inserted a speech in favour of toleration (supposedly addressed by a counsellor to James V on the occasion of the first reformers' arrival in Scotland).¹ In it his language is blunt and to the point:

... Religion cannot be preached by arms; the first Christians detested that form of Proceeding; Force and Compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites, not true Christians ... (p. 106).

No Prince hath such power over the Souls and Thoughts of Men as he hath over their Bodies ... (p. 106).

It is a false and erroneous Opinion, That a Kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth Two Religions ... (p. 106).

The Murthers, Massacres, and Battels, which arise and are like daily to encrease amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a Thousand Times more execrable, and more open, plain, and flat Impiety, than this Liberty of Diversity of Religions, with a quiet Peace, can be uniust (p. 107).

In the MSS his preoccupation with the more controversial parts of the History, and with this speech in particular, are evident from the large number of drafts scattered throughout the

1. In various places in the MSS Drummond toys with the idea of attributing this to either Sir David Lindsay or Kirkcaldy of Grange.

volumes. He wrote and rewrote this essay on toleration, he devoted so much time to it that we can see it must have been the most important part of his work. He knew it was the most dangerous of his opinions, for he said in a letter to an unknown nobleman

The veightiest passages in my papers are that I denye religion should be established by armes. There was an Embleme of old in a certaine Temple, an image pourtrated, the picture was of a Ropemaker who did still worke, but suffered an asse which stood behind him to eate it vp. Thus doe all reformers, who seeke to establish Religion by armes, for whilst they reforme and reforme, the bloudye souldours eate vp relligion behind them and abolish more of it than these Reformers can establish in 40 yeeres, they I saye destroy by their euill liues and wickednesse in one (MS 2061, f. 155r).

But Drummond was a distressed and frightened man, and his views were in the minority. Fear for his property and perhaps his life made him keep his sane and responsible writings to himself: On the same page he explains himself:

The great disorderes and desolation of my country set mee vnto a taske of writing and not any rancour or malvolence I had against any, and I am sorrye my papers should deserue rather pittye than Enuie. And for what is amisse in them they maye deserue pardone, sith they haue not went so farre from home but that they may be called backe againe, and after better informationes all amended.

And with sombre irony he adds:

And it shall be no shame for them at this tyme thus to be handled, by such graue syndykes and great Reformeres both of Church and State: who by their knowledge can not and by their places will not erre (f. 155r).

Drummond's History is not his best writing, but it is his most committed, and in a way his most personal. Where he wants it to matter, as in the passages quoted, his style is balanced

and forceful. In his poetry he followed the fashion (though just as the fashion was dying); here he is in a minority, voicing unpopular opinions to a world gone mad. His sincerity is obvious, his concern plain, he writes from the heart. That he was silenced and made impotent may sadden us, but he does not lose our respect. His cause found him; the moderation and commonsense which made him more the gentleman and less the poet gave him a voice at the last.

CHAPTER VII

AMENDMENTS TO L. E. KASTNER'S EDITION
OF DRUMMOND'S POEMS

In his introduction to his selection of unpublished poems of Drummond's, David Laing states the case for the responsible Victorian editor, a case for eclectic publication, selective, careful and moral.

The fair fame of many a Poet has suffered by the indiscriminate publication, in a posthumous form, either of unfinished productions, or of what was unsuited for public view. In this respect Drummond has shared the fate of other celebrated writers; and it would have been well for his reputation had his son, Sir William Drummond ... been less careful in preserving every scrap of the Poet's handwriting¹

A modern editor would draw the line in a different place; he would consider it his duty to print whatever his author had written, even if it were juvenile or in bad taste. He would let his author's reputation take care of itself. This point, I think, needs no amplification - one has only to remember the recent controversy over the manuscript poems of A. E. Housman² (which, if his wishes had been followed, should have been destroyed). But whether an editor should draw any line at all, or print anything he can lay his hands on, in whatever state it is, unfinished, imperfect, or merely scribble, is still an open question.

1. Laing, p. 225.

2. Times Literary Supplement, Nov. 16, 1967; Jan. 11, 1968.

L. E. Kastner's Scottish Text Society edition of Drummond's poems is regarded as the definitive edition, and while considering this question with respect to Drummond's poems in manuscript, we might ask at the same time what Kastner's editorial practice was, and how different his attitudes were from those of Laing. To put the question another way: have we an edition of Drummond's poems that claims to be definitive, but is in fact not so? Have we all the poems that Drummond wrote, or only as many as the editor felt we should have? Are our sensibilities spared the indelicate, is our patience protected from the tedious? These doubts were first expressed in 1952, when French Rowe Fogle printed a number of "new" poems in an appendix to his critical work on Drummond.¹ My own examination of the manuscripts has uncovered not only more unprinted matter but also some verse which should have never been attributed to Drummond in the first place.

Drummond wrote sparingly, and what he published, he polished and perfected until he considered it fit for the world to see. He printed little more than half his verse, suppressing the rest as unworthy; his reputation rests upon his Poems (1616) and his Flowres of Sion (1623). But he did not destroy all that he rejected; instead he saved it carefully. Since his death a succession of editors have plundered his papers, and few have been over-considerate of his "fair fame."

1. Fogle, pp. 187-209.

Whether Drummond would have approved of all this industry may be doubted, but his almost compulsive hoarding of his workbooks, and their survival today, has left modern editors with little choice. The Hawthornden MSS are the richest remains left to us of any poet of the period; indeed if they were not so abundant they would have been studied more carefully long before now. For students of Drummond, students of Jacobean poetry or students of the age they are equally valuable.

The first posthumous edition of Drummond's poems was that of Edward Phillips in 1656, the next in importance the 1711 edition of the complete Works.¹ Both these added new matter not previously printed, and in both the additional verse was almost certainly drawn from Drummond's MSS. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seven other editions appeared, and the number of verses attributed to Drummond grew, but until the Scottish Text Society commissioned L. E. Kastner to produce a definitive edition - which was eventually printed in 1913 - no systematic examination of the printed and unprinted material had been made. This is reflected in Kastner's two volumes, which are divided into poems printed during Drummond's lifetime, and poems posthumous, with the poems posthumous subdivided into poems first published in 1656, in 1711, in 1857, and poems not previously published in any former edition. To these Kastner

1. See Kastner's bibliography for these and the other editions mentioned below; Kastner, I, lxxxi-lxxxix.

added the poems he considered of doubtful authenticity.

The chief editorial problem was with the poems posthumous, and Kastner's edition has all the marks of having settled all difficulties. Kastner's scholarship is impressive, his presentation and organization of the verse could hardly be improved upon, his bibliography is as thorough as could be desired, and can only be corrected in a detail here and there.¹ His work on Drummond's sources established beyond question not only Drummond's wide reading but his almost parasitic inspiration, and left later scholars little more to do than to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" of the Scottish Petrarch's constant borrowings and translations. It is thus unfortunate to find Kastner guilty of error, and that the very one he so deplored in his fellow editors - the failure to examine the Hawthornden MSS closely enough, the consequent omission of a considerable number of poems, and the inclusion of others of questionable authenticity.

It should be made clear at once that it is probable that some of Kastner's omissions were intentional, and though a modern editor would not agree to them, by the standards of his day Kastner was not altogether at fault. Many of the poems Kastner

1. Kastner's treatment of variants in the MSS, as described in Chapter VIII, was somewhat careless. One item has come to light since he compiled his bibliography, the single-sheet sonnet "This Beautie faire, which Death in Dust did turne ..." addressed to Euphemia Kynninghame. See R. H. MacDonald, "Drummond of Hawthornden, Miss Euphemia Kynninghame, and the 'Poems,'" MLR, LX (1965), 494-9.

passed by are either juvenile and incomplete or bawdy (or both). The latter would now be printed without question, for taste has changed; the former would undoubtedly be printed too, for though they may be poor and imperfect poems, they have their interest. As Kastner himself said of the verse he rescued from the Hawthornden MSS, "they are of considerable importance ... in the light of Drummond's poetic development, presenting him as they do at an early stage of his career when Scotticisms still flowed readily from his pen, and when he had not yet attained that mastery over the standard English of his day for which he strove so hard."¹

Kastner's position here accords with modern practice, and his argument for printing the unpublished pieces - that, though they may not be worth much as poems, they may help the critic and the scholar, and so must not be suppressed - is nowadays taken for read. From his introduction he leaves us with the impression that his edition is complete. "We have also made it our business," he says, "to examine afresh and very carefully the Hawthornden Manuscripts ... by so doing we have been able to improve materially the text of the posthumous poems, and to add to the present edition a not inconsiderable number of unpublished pieces."² We are now apparently freed from the electicism of Laing, we are to have all of Drummond, every line. Yet as will

1. Kastner, I, xii.

2. Ibid.

be clear from the following pages, Kastner exercised a censorship only different in degree.

The source of Drummond's posthumous verse is the Hawthornden MSS. The history and present arrangement of the MSS has been described in the Introduction, but for the sake of the present discussion may be summarized here briefly. The MSS are in the main Drummond's private papers. Some of them have almost certainly been lost, and the parts which do seem to be missing are those which were used by the editors of the 1656 and the 1711 editions. Kastner showed that Edward Phillips based his edition upon the early 1614 "trial" edition of the Poems, but that he also received manuscript material sent to him by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, Drummond's brother-in-law.¹ Thomas Ruddiman and Bishop John Sage, the putative editors of the 1711 Works, were given a free hand to take what they wished by Drummond's son Sir William, who went over the manuscript at various times of his life, annotating items presumably with this edition in mind. Not all of what went to these editors came back.

What is left of the MSS was sorted and bound in volumes by David Laing early in the last century.² Altogether the volumes number fourteen, but of this number we are concerned with only three, for apart from the odd verse here and there - marked in

1. Ibid., I, lxxxiii-lxxxvi.

2. Laing gives an account of his labours and the probable history of the MSS, Laing, pp. 57-62.

the Inventory and accounted for¹ - only three contain any verse which could be suspected of being original. The first two of these are Drummond's commonplace books: these have his notes on his reading, his lecture notes from university, accounts of his visit to the theatre in France, a catalogue of his library, a collection of jokes, and - this is the important point - a great many verses in English, Latin, French and Italian not of his own composition. The third volume is titled in his own hand "An Addition to the poèmes of W. D. 1620," and though the title may not in fact refer to the whole volume as it is bound, this book does contain almost all the posthumous verse included in Kastner's edition, and indeed almost all the verse written after 1620.

The "Addition" is quite evidently Drummond's workbook for the last half of his life, or as much of it as has survived. Most of the poems in it appear in more than one version, rough drafts and emendations are numerous, and one can follow quite precisely the various stages of the composition of several pieces. By 1620 - the date in Drummond's title - the Poems (1616) were of course in print, and most of the Flowres of Sion were already written. There are a few verses from both of these in the "Addition," early drafts, one would guess, which did not go to the printer.

Before going further there are some general propositions which should be stated. First, because a poem is written in

1. See, for example, MS 2061, ff. 58v-59v.

Drummond's hand, is no proof that Drummond composed it. Almost everything in the voluminous Hawthornden MSS is in Drummond's hand - he was a persistent scribbler - and as a glance at the Inventory will show, he copied out other men's verse from the books he read: Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Thomas Browne, William Warner, John Donne, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney and many more all appear in his pages. His first editor made the mistake of entering Samuel Daniel's best known sonnet, "Care-charming sleep, son of the sable night ..." among Drummond's works;¹ it is there in Drummond's commonplace book, in his own hand, unasccribed to Daniel, but there has never been any question of its proper authorship.

Secondly, and following on from the last, we must suspect any poem in the commonplace books as being by somebody else, unless it shows definite signs of an original composition, that is, unless it is in rough draft, with emendations and perhaps a rhyme scheme still not quite worked out. On the other hand, we may begin by trusting any poem in the volume called "An Addition," since almost all the verse of that volume is quite clearly original. Another way of putting it would be to say that any poem in the Hawthornden MSS that is present only in one fair copy is suspect, while verses in a number of drafts can be at the worst only the poetical rendering of a translation. It should

1. Poems, by that most famous wit, W.D., ed. Edw. Phillips (London, 1656 and London, 1659).

be emphasized that Drummond made the distinction between what he wrote and what others wrote by keeping his copies of each in separate sections of his papers,¹ and that what confusion there is has come about only from the over-enthusiasm of his editors, who, unless they could readily put someone else's name to a verse, were all too ready to give it to Drummond.

With these distinctions in mind we can amend Kastner's edition in these ways. Firstly, we can add a number of poems from the "Addition" that are omitted by Kastner. Secondly, we can question some poems that appear only in the commonplace books, but which Kastner ascribed to Drummond. Next, we can add some comments on the authenticity of the doubtful poems. We may also consider Kastner's reasons for doing what he did, and where we might wish to draw the line today.

The poems which Fogle transcribed from the "Addition" are printed in the second appendix to his A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden.² As he says, they are in various stages of composition, written - which is plain from both the language and the state of Drummond's hand - at different times of his life, but mostly in his youth. Many are fragments of longer works, and some are clearly translations. The first pieces

1. One epigram, "Narcissus," which Drummond did definitely write - it appeared in the Poems (1616), see Kastner, I, 109 - occurs in both the volume of poems (MS 2062, f. 169r) and the second commonplace book (MS 2060, f. 130v), but from the look of it the latter leaf is a stray.

2. See above.

appear under the heading "De Materia Prima," and from the clue of a similar title over an Italian verse of Valerio Belli's transcribed in one of the commonplace books,¹ may be a translation from this poet. Two further verses

O leave (Uliesses) in their caue the Winds ...²

and

Ilas of the Nymphes ... (f. 53r)

are from a group headed "Madrigali di Mauritio Moro."³ Kastner printed five companion pieces,⁴ but left these two alone. They are translations (like the printed verses in the group), but they are both unrhymed, and as Fogle points out, noticeably unfinished. Kastner obviously excluded them on these grounds, and if we look over the verses under the heading "De Materia Prima" mentioned above,⁵ we notice that these too are unrhymed. Since they occupy a prominent place in the manuscripts Kastner must have seen them; his criterion for suppressing them was thus that they were unfinished, that is, unrhymed. Much of the verse printed

1. See Inventory, II, 120. The only available local copy of Belli's madrigals (a rare work) is the Newbattle copy, at present lodged in the National Library of Scotland, but not now accessible to readers. I have thus not been able to check my hypothesis.
2. MS 2062, f. 52r. Further references in the text of this chapter are to this volume, unless indicated otherwise.
3. Fogle, p. 192. Fogle's transcription has some minor inaccuracies.
4. Kastner, II, 176; II, 280-81.
5. Fogle, pp. 187-91.

by Fogle falls in this category.

The unprinted material which Fogle missed and Kastner ignored is in one way more interesting. Here again are juvenile efforts, more rough drafts of sonnets, madrigals and pastorals, poor verse compared to Drummond's finished work.¹ To paraphrase Kastner's words, these are of some interest to students of Drummond's early development; a small record of conceits attempted then left, rhymes abandoned, translations begun. What is new here are some longer verses, all from Drummond's later years, which show him in a mood quite removed from the sweet Petrarchan. From his printed pasquills and epigrams it was clear he had a taste and a facility for coarse satire; these verses show him indulging this taste in more extended style. No wonder Kastner left these alone!

The first of these pieces is the most finished, a libellous, obscene address to a lady named Kit, who had evidently taken her husband to court for the non-consummation of their marriage (f. 193r).² We know that Drummond had a vicious tongue, for two of his unprinted letters directed to women are beyond common abuse, and if they were actually delivered cannot have done less than made him hated and feared. Here he puts his attack in verse with some skill; the whole needs polishing but it has been worked out with some care and attention. From the way in which

1. See the transcripts of this verse in Appendix 3.

2. See Appendix 3.

the couplets are broken up by the sentence structure to provide a variation for the rhythm, thus

And (foole) though thou a Bonnet ware of Haire
Is not thy spotted skull as vglie bare
As thy painted cheeke? Thy Haires were stronglie stout
Each one did tyre a Man ere it came out ,...

Drummond seems to have been modelling himself on someone like Bishop Corbett. He transcribed one of Corbett's poems in his commonplace book;¹ he probable saw it and others in manuscript. The tone of these later satires is reminiscent of such pieces as Corbett's "Upon an unhandsome gentlewoman, who made love to him," and the treatment not dissimilar:

Have I some forreigne practice undertooke
By poyson, shott, sharp-knife, or sharper Booke
To kill my King? have I betrayed the State
To fire and fury, or some newer Fate,
Which learned Murderers, those Grand-Destinies,
The Jesuites, have nure'd? if of all these
I guilty am, proceed; I am content
That Mallet take mee for my punishment²

Drummond's Kit is accused of promiscuity with one and all: counts, knights, the gentry, her kinsmen, yeomen, grooms. She is past her best, she has been used and misused - Drummond employs all the common coarse metaphors to describe her repulsive condition. Not content with her private person, he turns to her appearance: her breath stinks, she is bald, her breasts are "like sodden haggises," her skin dry and yellow as saffron bags.

1. MS 2060, ff. 44r-45r.

2. The Poems of Richard Corbett, ed. J. A. W. Bennett and H. R. Trevor-Roper (Oxford, 1955), p. 6.

As invective the piece has a clumsy strength, and though the target is a woman rather than a fellow poet, the lines are in the Scottish "flyting" tradition, and so their abusiveness is probably somewhat stylized.

In a less personal strain is a shorter piece labelled "Maister Peter Arbothnet on the mariage of my lord Bruce to Diana Sicile" (f. 218r).¹ (The marriage in question is that of Diana Cecil, daughter of Sir William Burleigh, to Lord Bruce, first Earl of Elgin.)² This is perhaps a translation from the Latin, and indeed it bears the marks of the crude, anti-feminine humour of the previous century, the sort which George Buchanan at times descended to. With a pun on her surname, the sexual parts of the unfortunate Diana are compared to the fiery volcano of her supposed native land, in which, Lord Bruce is warned, the great Empedocles "theere burnt his pricke."

Some other verses are topical in their satire. "Iames Stuart his repleye to a pasquiller" is a recital of the high-handed behaviour of the fourth Duke of Lennox (f. 217),³ a man known to the historians as a somewhat ineffectual, slow-minded creature of Charles I's, but here attacked as a Machiavellian schemer.

... Put wee not down
Your Charles, and reallie stript him of his crown,
Though we swore his defence?

Lennox is led to say. Lennox was used by Charles as an

1. See Appendix 3.

2. This verse can be dated fairly precisely: Lord Bruce married Diana Cecil on the 12th November, 1629. She was the widow of Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford. See The Complete Peerage, V, 41-2.

3. See Appendix 3.

Is not in fact

So is wrong

As it is

Top of the

Is the

Top of the

Is the

Any good

Any good

Any good

Any good

Any good

Any good

Any good

Any good

PLATE XI.

Part of Drummond's lines to Kit
(MS 2062, f. 194r)

Is not it self upon Castells but it gave
 So is not yours the less it was before.
 As is that gold I'm rising to same an soft
 The balant curtains gins self made to soft
 Is it not well? or like that spire of Drakes
 That sailed all seas, and well standing full of luckes
 Or like those Wells rising fairs in iron or stone
 Any good member that is in your town.
 A candle-stick touch of Silver upon some light
 Half burnt into its look some darker night
 Dole fairs so furious gold that no word find
 It well light here of needs of light must find.
 Your mad some thing upon your eye beyond
 The Lord's light upon the Mages breaking wind,
 And was surprised or upon the pain of being
 Not by the soft mad on head
 And upon the blindless husband and from some
 And some were after and bore by the roots.
 Unhappy kite, do not let the great stinks work
 Than that strong matter upon Nature do for
 From a turn'd gilt, and though it sent perfume
 But some stronger order to confirm.
 And fool of touch you a Bonnet bar of Hair
 Is not the spotted Skull and Vylis bar
 As the painted speck? The Hair is now ^{stronger} stain
 Each one did give a Man or it came out.

intermediary in his attempts to force the Council of the Scottish Kirk to accept the prayer book, and it is odd that Drummond, who so disliked the Covenanting party - to the extent of composing rude anagrams on the names of its leaders¹ - should in these lines be attacking a king's man. The verse must have been composed about the year 1640, and by this time Drummond was in increasing despair over the intransigent attitudes of both sides. He seems to have felt that the king was misled and betrayed by those nearest to him, yet saw no hope in the tyrannies of the Presbyterian extremists.

About the same time - 1640 - he mocks the fanaticism of a more local Presbyterian, Mr. William Jameson, Minister of Jedburgh (or Jedart) (ff. 224-5).² This man had made an example of his horse, having put it to death for the ungodly offence of working on the Sabbath day: in the fever of the times such were the lengths to which the extremists were prepared to push their convictions. Drummond attempts an epigram on the affair, but though his ending is neat enough -

Yee people of Iedwert hereafter beleue then
Not men for the Saboth were made, but it for the men.

- his rhymes cripple the verse: "Cranstow Branstow" might just pass, but "Iadwart/Iad arte" is very clumsy. The horse's reply is another disappointment. Here Drummond seems to have

1. From Warriston he made "vn vrai sot." MS 2061, f. 74r.

2. See Appendix 3.

attempted irony:

Yee know how oft I rode for the good cause
And though with hunger pinched, yet did not pause
Till yee was at the assembly, where first placed
With wit and learning yee the table graced.

but slides off into direct castigation for the rest of the verse. Whatever topicality lay in "Old Rozinante and fierce Rabican/
Strong independentes ..." is lost to us now, but even with this taken into account the ending seems lame.

The epitaph

If of the dead saue good nought should be said ... (f. 91r)¹
is one of the most polished of all the unprinted pieces. The first couplet occurs in the Democritie under the title "Fenton on Macolow" (MS 2060, ff. 28v, 128r), but judging from the state of the manuscript the rest of the composition is Drummond's own. It seems to be a product of Drummond's maturity, for it is technically skilful, with the same attention paid to the rhythm and pauses that we noticed in "Kit."

Disdaind and scorned all memorialls
Of antique ages and for funeralles
Of worthe Men, hee suffered not a Tombe
To enclose their bones: nor any Temple hold
Their sad remembrances ...

It would be tempting to suppose that the subject of this hymn of hate was a regicide, yet this would be crediting Drummond with second sight. It is likely that he was of one of the leaders of the Covenanting party.

1. See Appendix 3.

One quite unfinished piece

Disdaine kendles loue in mee and wanton lookes alayes my
flame ...(f. 189Ar)¹

is something of a curiosity, for it echoes in a remarkable fashion a poem by Benjamin Ruddier or Rudyerd

'Tis love breeds love in mee, and cold disdaine

Ruddier's poem is sometimes attributed to John Donne, and can be found in Grierson's edition among Donne's dubia.² It is written in answer to a verse by Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, third Earl of Pembroke, namely "A Dialogue,"

If her disdaine least change in you can move³

Drummond's reply owes most of its similarity to Ruddier's in that both repeat Herbert's phrases; Drummond's is certainly independent since it appears in another draft on another leaf of the MSS (f. 69r).

The rest of the unprinted verse is similar to that published by Fogle. The piece "Tinareo in praise of his lady" (ff. 27r, 203r)⁴ - judging from the title, a translation from the Italian - is coarse but funny, the usual extravagant description of the lady being exploded in the last couplet by an imaginative indelicacy. Kastner must have suppressed this piece as being,

1. Appendix 3.

2. John Donne, Poems, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1912), I, 431-2.

3. Ibid., I, 430-1.

4. See Appendix 3.

in David Laing's words, "unsuited for public view." When we think of the lip-service Drummond paid to the Petrarchan conventions, and how strange the tones of Shakespeare's CXXX sonnet would sound in the midst of his public poetry,¹ this is a reminder that Drummond and his fellow Petrarchans used the conventions of their genre in the full knowledge that they were merely conventions. Unlike Shakespeare, they saved their ridicule for private enjoyment.

There are a number of other short epigrams and epitaphs, similar to those selected for the posthumous poems by Kastner, but vulgar or obscene. Some are no worse than those in print. Kastner appears to have accepted the vulgarities chosen by his predecessors, notably Thomas Ruddiman and Bishop Sage in the 1711 edition - he could have hardly done otherwise - but added only the most harmless examples himself. Farts, pricks and arses he thought outside the pale.

In summary Kastner's editorial practice while in the main sound, was tainted with prudishness and carelessness. He selected from the MSS what he considered finished verse, that is, in the main, verse that rhymed. He excluded poems however polished, if they were obscene, and he overlooked a number of others which, had he found them, would have come up to his standards of acceptance. His main fault was that he concealed his suppressions, and left his readers with the impression that his

1. "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun"

edition contained all the poems that his author had written.

One poem outside the MSS should be mentioned, a commendatory sonnet written on the first leaf of Drummond's copy of Sir William Alexander's Monarchicke Tragedies.¹ This is in Drummond's hand, with his signature below, and there can be no doubt about its authenticity. The sonnet is a competent piece in the customary extravagant style: the ancients are addressed, and told their martial glories need remain unsung no more, for

O Happie Ghosts! What all those firie Climes,
And pregnant Ages past you did refuse
Our Artike yeeldeth, and these golden times,
Euen equall to your greatest deeds a Muse.
That worlds shall doubt which greater praise doth bring,
Heroicklie to acte or sweetlie sing.²

This sonnet escaped Kastner's attention. It may be kept in mind when the authenticity of another sonnet is questioned below, the poem beginning

First in the orient raign'd th' assyrian kings ...³

This sonnet is on the subject of the Four Monarchies, and Kastner supposed it to refer to Alexander's Monarchicke Tragedies.⁴ It would be unusual for two poems to be attached to the same book.

So much for the omissions in Kastner; careful examination

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1. Written on Alr of a copy of The Monarchicke Tragedies (London, 1607), STC 344, now in the National Library of Scotland. This copy is shelved as NLS MS 1692.
 2. The sonnet is printed by Fogle, pp. 75-6.
 3. Kastner, II, 229.
 4. Kastner, II, 394-5.

of the volume of poems in the Hawthornden MSS, the "Additions," makes it plain that they are all bone fide omissions, and not poems by some other author Drummond met in his reading. They all bear the signs of Drummond's composition, with words scored out, emendations made, and rhyme schemes incomplete.

The poems which must be questioned in Kastner's edition are another matter. These are distinguished by their neatness in the MSS, by their lack of corrections, and most important, as was argued earlier, by their appearance in the wrong place; that is, in the commonplace books rather than the "Additions." I propose to discuss the authenticity of each of these poems, one by one, if, from their form and location in the MSS - their sole source - they seem at all suspicious. I will not confine myself to verses first printed by Kastner, but review any posthumous verse if it is possible that it was not in fact composed by Drummond.

We may begin with two sonnets about which there can be no doubt:

Wer thes thine eies, or lightnings from aboue ...

and

Faire cruel Siluia since thow scornes my teares¹

These are written in Drummond's hand on ff. 230r and 231r of MS 2060, the second of Drummond's commonplace books. They are translations, the first from De Porcheres, the second from

1. Kastner, II, 270; II, 269.

Guarini. Kastner has no hesitation in claiming both of these for Drummond, although in fact (as he himself points out) they were printed in Charles Roger's edition of the poems of Sir Robert Ayton.¹ They are both in fair copy, and occur nowhere else in the manuscripts, so even without the attribution to Ayton we would have reason to suspect them. As it is, Ayton's latest editor, Charles Gullans, has no hesitation in rescuing both sonnets for Ayton.² His reasons for doing so are excellent: both poems occur in the two chief Ayton MSS. Kastner was unaware of the existence of these manuscripts, or else he would not have assigned the two poems to Drummond with such assurance. As Gullans rightly says, the presence of the sonnets in Drummond's hand in the Hawthornden MSS is not evidence of Drummond's authorship, but of his interest in them.³

A glance at the inventory of the two commonplace books will show in detail Drummond's practice of copying out other men's

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1. Kastner, II, 407-8.
 2. Sir Robert Ayton, The English and Latin Poems, ed. Charles B. Gullans, STS, Fourth Series (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 164-5.
 3. Ibid., pp. 280-2. The two sonnets are also transcribed in a manuscript collection of seventeenth century date that besides containing a number of other Ayton poems, has several verses selected by Drummond for his commonplace books. This is EUL La. III. 436. This strengthens Ayton's claim, but it should be pointed out that it does nothing for Drummond's, nor does it indicate that Drummond was the author of the verses common to this MS and his commonplace book - but merely that both he and the compiler of the MS liked some of the same pieces.

verse. Of this verse, Kastner takes only one sonnet and one fragment from the first volume - the Ephemeris - as Drummond's own:

Great paragon of poets brichtest pearle ...

and

The greatest gift that from ther golden thrones¹

One can see why he accepts these two pieces: the sonnet occurs only in this copy, but the verse on the same leaf (MS 2059, f. 23v), "The greatest gift ...," appears in the "Addition" under the title "Silenus to King Midas" (MS 2062, f. 2r), and so if Drummond wrote the one he might be supposed to have written the other. But I think it more likely that Drummond "borrowed" this verse, and entered it under his own title in his collection of epigrams. In the commonplace book both pieces are, admittedly, partly spelled in Scots, set down in a young hand, and thus like much of Drummond's early verse. The lines themselves are clumsy, and the last couplet of the sonnet

Thy perfytt praises if the world vould vrit
Must haue againe thy selff for to endit.

is somewhat awkward. This could be the mark of the novice, and though it is hardly flattering to say so, it is not out of place among Drummond's first attempts. The subject too of the sonnet might well have been chosen by Drummond - a eulogy to his favourite author, Sir Philip Sidney. (Kastner has the poem

1. Kastner, II, 268; II, 186.

titled "In Sr. P. d. R.," and takes the letters to mean "on Sieur Pierre de Ronsard."¹ Besides misreading Drummond's writing, this supposes more ignorance on his part than I am willing to admit, for surely he would know that Ronsard did not claim the title "Sieur." The letters, besides, read "in [or "On," the 'i' and the 'o' are superimposed] Sr. P. S. k.," or "In [that is "on"] Sir Philip Sidney Knight," a usual style of address for the time.) But again, the arguments against Drummond's authorship seem decisive. The two pieces are in fair copy, without emendations, and they are set in the middle of a mass of verse taken from other men. As for the language, Drummond when a young man put whatever he wrote into Scots.

Kastner is more generous in his selections from the second commonplace book, and one can find little excuse beyond carelessness for some of these choices. Beside the Ayton poems already described, he prints three other sonnets, one translation and a number of little epigrams and such like, all of which are of extremely doubtful authenticity. The short verses last mentioned are the least defensible, for these have been taken from Drummond's jestbook or Democritie.

First, let us take the three sonnets

I feare to me such fortune be assignd ...

First in the orient raign'd th' assyrian kings ... and

Great Queene whom to the liberall Heauens propine²

1. Kastner, II, 407.

2. Kastner, II, 230; II, 229; II, 269.

These are written out in fair copy in the same place in the MSS (MS 2060, ff. 292v-293r), but printed in different sections in Kastner's edition. . (This is because Kastner separates the posthumous poems according to the date of their first publication.) From their form in the manuscripts the three sonnets must have been copied out at the same time. They do not occur elsewhere, nor do they bear any signs of Drummond's composition. The first sonnet is a lament for the times and for Sir Alexander Falconer or Colonel James Halkerston - little or nothing is known about either¹ - the second a conventional description of the Four Monarchies, and the third a gently mocking address to the queen, presumably Elizabeth I. If, as I judge, these sonnets are not Drummond's, then from their common position in his manuscripts we might be justified in supposing that they had a common author or source. Taken together, they are an odd lot. The air of disillusionment and despair of the first

Where flatterers, fooles, baudes, fiddlers, are rewarded,
Whilst Vertue sterues vnppittied, vnregarded.

is like the mood of Drummond's later years, but the sonnet to the queen, to have any point, must have been written before 1603. Here, however, the tone seems foreign to Drummond, and the opinions strange; Drummond, after all, was just a youth of

1. Kastner identifies the subject of the poem as Colonel James Halkerston, the author of some Latin epigrams included in the Delitiae Poetarum Scotarum, ed. Arthur Johnston (Amsterdam, 1637); II, 395. David Laing thinks that he was Sir Alexander Falconer of Halkerstone, a Senator of the College of Justice, made Lord Halkerstone in 1647. See Laing, pp. 102-3.

eighteen in the year of Elizabeth's death. The verse on the Four Monarchies was supposed by Kastner to refer to Sir William Alexander's The Monarchicke Tragedies¹ (Drummond did have a copy of these), though the subject was a commonplace at that time, and as we saw above, Drummond had already written a sonnet for this work. Without attempting to attach these sonnets to the name of another author - who should be an anglicized Scot of Alexander's generation (for an Englishman would probably not have composed the Halkerston piece) - we must remain doubtful of Drummond's authorship.

It seems even less likely that Drummond wrote the verse

At length heere shee is: wee haue got those bright eyes ...
(MS 2060, f. 171r)²

which - as the heading in the MS says - is a translation from the French verse "To Anne, the French Queen, new come from Spaine, and applyable to Marye of England, meeting the King at Douer." Kastner ignores this piece in his notes, which considering the problems it raises if Drummond is the author, is a tactful decision. Why should Drummond choose to celebrate Mary of England, dead for more than half a century? It seems an inappropriate "application," when he could have found royal meetings closer to his own time and country. The translation is written in fair copy on the same page as the original, and bearing Ayton's

1. Kastner, II, 394-5.

2. Kastner, II, 274.

translations in mind, we must again doubt the wisdom of Kastner's judgement. A final argument against Drummond's authorship is that the verse appears to be adapted for The Entertainment of ... Prince Charles, and while Drummond borrowed freely from everyone else, he did not as a rule paraphrase himself. The lines

At length heere shee is: wee haue got those bright eyes.
More shine now our earth than the skyes!

are echoed by

At length we see those eyes,
which cheere both over earth and skies ...¹

and the rest of the verse is also reminiscent of "To Anne"

Lastly, there are a number of short verses which are doubtful or spurious beyond question. Drummond probably did write the epigram

S. Andrew, why does thou giue up thy Schooles ...²

because, though it is copied out on a page in the second commonplace book (MS 2060, f. 199v), the page itself looks like a stray, and "S. Andrew ..." is accompanied by the epigram "Gods iudgements," which occurs again in the "Addition" (ff. 184r, 187r). Another epigram

Prometheus am I ...³

is much more doubtful, for it appears on the last leaf of the same commonplace book (f. 300r), along with (for instance) a

1. Kastner, II, 135-6.

2. Kastner, II, 243.

3. Kastner, II, 240.

verse from Philip Rosseter's Booke of ayres, and nowhere else. It is hard to see why David Laing, who included this verse in his selection from the MSS, and whose judgement was usually so reliable, made a mistake here.

Where Kastner used his own judgement he is not to be trusted. He seems to have been in a muddle over the MSS, or at least over that part of the second commonplace book that Drummond called his *Democritie*. This jestbook, as we saw in Chapter IV, is a confused mass of miscellaneous material, a collection of other men's jokes and doggerel rhymes. It is labelled by Drummond on the title-leaf "pasquills apotheames impresas Anagrames epitaphes Epigrames ... of this and the late age before," and this is the description it answers. Knowing Drummond's magpie habits, the sole reason for believing the verse in the *Democritie* his - that it is in his hand - carries no weight. Nobody who has inspected the MSS with care would consider it a safe source of original verse; indeed, it should be the last place an editor should look for additions to the canon.

It is difficult to account for Kastner's behaviour here, and most difficult to understand why, if he was determined to cull the *Democritie* for epigrams and the rest, he stopped where he did. Why select only nine pieces, and exclude the rest? He seems to have chosen the epigrams with most point, and ones which might possibly have been written by Drummond (that is, ones that came close to those Drummond did write), leaving aside verses that were too obviously "of the late age before." He also appears to

PLATE XII. A page from the Democritie, showing
(line 5 and following) a verse printed by
Kastner as Drummond's (MS 2060, f. 38r)

have favoured epigrams that Drummond transcribed in a careful hand.

The following verses then should be considered spurious:

Heere lyes a Doctor who with droges and pelfe ...
(MS 2060, ff. 31v, 117v)

Heere lyes a cooke who went to buye ylles ...
(f. 31v)

That which preserueth cherries, peares and plumes ...
(f. 38r)

A lady in her prime to whom was giuen ...
(f. 126r)

Strange is his end, his death most rare and od ...
(ff. 126r, 79r)

Killd by ingratitude heere blest within doth rest ...
(f. 126r)

Vntymlic Death that neither wouldst conferre ...
(f. 31r).¹

These were found by Kastner in the Democritie, and printed together in his additions to the posthumous poems.

He found too in the same place the "madrigal"

Loue once thy lawes ... (f. 63v)²

and chose to print it, but left alone its accompanying verse,

Loue is a wretched Boy ...

presumably because it was bawdy. To these spurious poems we can, I think, add the epitaph

Heere lyes a sowre and angry cooke³

1. Kastner, II, 284-5.

2. Kastner, II, 279.

3. Kastner, II, 285.

This does appear in Drummond's "Addition" (MS 2062, f. 103Br), where it is written in at the foot of a composition, but it also occurs in the Democritie (MS 2060, f. 77v), in amongst other anonymous epigrams. It is improbable that Drummond wrote it himself.

Detailed study of the MSS does nothing to strengthen the claims of the poems of doubtful authenticity. There are five of these: "Lines one the Bischopes," "For the Kinge," "Hymns," Polemo-Middinia, and "To the Reader."¹ With the exception of the first and the last, both which I defend later, I believe these to be spurious, for I have found no trace of the smallest part of any of the doubtful poems in the Hawthornden MSS. When one considers that almost every poem written after 1620 (that is, some of the Flowres of Sion, and everything after) occurs in one or more drafts in Drummond's workbook the "Addition," it would be extraordinary that if these poems were indeed authentic no trace of their composition survived. This evidence, we should hurry to add, is damning though not conclusive, for certain authentic poems such as the commendatory verse "Paraineticon,"² which prefaced Sir Thomas Kellie's Pallas Armata, are also missing, though on the whole - as the Inventory shows - such omissions are few and far between.

The second argument against the doubtful poems (all but the

1. Kastner, II, 292-327.

2. Kastner, II, 167-8.

first and the last) is that they are unlike anything else composed by Drummond, alien to his style, thoughts and talent. Kastner himself states most of the relevant objections, but he is too tolerant altogether. The first of the poems, "Lines one the Bishopes," comes from a manuscript written in the hand of Drummond's contemporary, Sir James Balfour, and is ascribed to Drummond by Balfour. I am prepared to admit these lines to be Drummond's work: they are written in his style, they express his known opinions, and they are very like some of the satires he wrote in his later years, especially the unprinted pieces "James Stuart his replye to a pasquiller" and the attack on Mr. William Jameson. Drummond and Balfour besides were acquaintances, for Balfour appears in at least one of Drummond's lists of intended recipients of copies of his verse.¹

The second poem - "For the Kinge" - follows on in Balfour's manuscript, and was ascribed to Drummond by the editors of the 1711 Works. Balfour does not name it as Drummond's, but his ascription to "Lines one the Bishopes" might possibly be intended to cover "For the Kinge." This is a prima facie case for authenticity; what is questionable is that Drummond should write such verse at all. "For the Kinge" consists of six poems on the senses, the whole a bitter, personal, vicious if not treasonable attack on the conduct and morals of James I. W. C. Ward, the editor immediately preceding Kastner, doubted whether

1. MS 2061, f. 2r.

such severe criticism could come from Drummond,¹ and his question is indeed pertinent. Drummond was a confirmed and a profound monarchist, and though a few of his later verses do attack the king or his ministers for their unbecoming public behaviour, there is nothing similar to this private abuse in his authentic work.

The "Hymns," the third group, were first printed (as far as is known) in The Primer or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in English.² They were first published as Drummond's in the Works (1711). While pointing out that "the somewhat colourless language of the hymns is the strongest argument against their ascription to Drummond ..." Kastner claims that the weight of the evidence is for their authenticity. He admits that there is no trace of them in the Hawthornden MSS, and that the editors of the Works may have mistakenly printed them from a transcription in Drummond's hand. He argues that Drummond's son (who was responsible for supplying the 1711 editors with their manuscript copy) "can reasonably be presumed to have known what his father

1. The poems of W. D., ed. W. C. Ward, The Muses Library (London, 1894), II, 328.

2. Kastner says the hymns were first printed in the edition of the Primer published at St. Omer by John Heigham in 1619. Neither STC nor Allison and Rogers record a 1619 edition: either Kastner was mistaken in his facts or the copy he saw has now disappeared. The hymns do appear in the 1631 edition, John Heigham, St. Omer, STC 16099, Allison and Rogers 691; and in another issue of this edition, STC 16100, Allison and Rogers 692.

wrote ..." and that Drummond at one time of his life did write Christian songs and hymns.¹ Neither of these arguments is convincing. Drummond's son, Sir William, was a youth of fourteen when Drummond died, and as his diary shows,² he was little interested in literature. One splendidly biased journal writer, Father Richard Augustin Hay, described him in his "Memoires" as a "man of a hideous bulke ..." a Justice of the Peace "fitter to set in privat parlors over the glass, whilst healths goe round, and to examine the condition of a pot of ale, which he hath good opportunity to discover, than the circumstances of any debate that comes before him."³ Father Hay may have been prompted by spleen, but there is nothing in Sir William's annotations on his father's MSS to dispel the impression we have of him as an inadequate guide to their contents. His occasional endorsements show no insight and little intelligence, and by 1705 - which was about the date that Thomas Ruddiman began to plan his edition - he was an old man.

The second of Kastner's points is that these may be the hymns mentioned by Drummond in a letter to an anonymous correspondent (this letter was printed by Laing in his selections

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1. Kastner, II, 416-7.
 2. Printed in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, VII (Edinburgh, 1941), 11-40.
 3. NLS Adv. MS 34. 1. 9; quoted by David Laing in his edition of the Genealogy, pp. 269-70.

from the MSS).¹ Drummond's words are

At my last being in your Country, I remember yee regrated the defect want of Christian songs and hymnes in our English language, the neighbour countreyes of France and Germanie hauing the aduantage ouer us herin, which I then wished with you to be interprised by some happy wit, and promised to send vnto you a piece of myne (more showing in affectionate willingnesse than any perfection) on that subject

This does sound as though he might be meaning these hymns, but it could, of course, refer to any other Christian song or hymn.

Laing suggests that Drummond's correspondent was Sir Robert Kerr, whose psalms Drummond read and improved. We know from a letter of Sir William Alexander's that Drummond was a correspondent member of King James' psalm-writing school;² it is possible that the piece he referred to in his letter was a psalm. Apart from these objections, there is the awkward problem of the hymns first appearance in the Primer ... of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Drummond had no known contact with or interest in the English Roman Catholic community in France, and it is difficult to see how he could have come to supply the St. Omer printer with this verse. There is nothing in the hymns that would stick in the throat of a Scottish presbyterian (though the last piece, "On the Feast of St. Michael the Arch-Angel," might be disapproved of), but taken together, these would be unusual compositions for a man of Drummond's beliefs, even taking into account his wide reading

1. Laing, p. 92.

2. Works (1711), p. 151.

and fondness of such authors as Marino. The poems spiritual of the Flowres of Sion are of a more philosophical mood altogether; these hymns are devotional, subdued, colourless, and have none of the startling imagery, the Marinism, of Drummond's authentic pieces. The hymns must owe their presence in the edition of 1711 to an error on the part of the editors, who mistook a transcription in Drummond's own hand for an original composition.

For the first of the remaining two pieces, the macaronic Polemo-Middinia, all that can be said is that these lines are unlike the rest of Drummond's work, that there is no trace of them in his manuscripts, and that there is nothing to connect them with Drummond save posthumous ascription. The Polemo-Middinia was not claimed for Drummond until forty-two years after his death. Drummond's knowledge of the persons and location of the Polemo-Middinia - the fight between the muck-carts of Scotstarvet and Barns - is something we cannot put aside when questioning his authorship, yet the negative evidence of the MSS, with their complete lack of this or any other macaronic verse, is difficult to ignore. Drummond spent a lifetime consciously erasing Scotticisms from his writing, and we can reasonably doubt that he would have plunged himself back into the broadest dialect. Without being able to offer any evidence other than an even closer connection with the locale of the midden-fecht I would suggest Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet as the author; unlike Drummond he was a Latinist with a noted taste for Latin verse. As his Staggering State of the Scottish Statesmen shows, he had

the humour, sharp enough, pawky enough. There is nothing in the Polemo-Middinia that demonstrates the master hand at work; Sir John or one of his friends might have managed it.

"To the Reader," the preface to a 1629 edition of Alexander Montgomerie's The Flyting, was claimed for Drummond by Dr. Rudolf Brotanek in 1896,¹ on the grounds that it is an expansion of the epigram

Flyting no reason hath, for at this tyme ...²

which is in the "Addition" (f. 154r). Two lines in each are particularly close:

Flyting no reason hath, and at this tyme
Heere it not stands by Reason, but by Ryme ...

from "To the Reader," matching

Flyting no reason hath, for at this tyme,
It doth not stand with reason, but in ryme ...

and the joke of the epigram being repeated in

And Lawes were made that none durst flyte in prose;
How calme were then the world? perhaps this Law
Might make some madding wives to stand in aw,
And not in filthy Prose out-roare their men³

Without being able to add anything to Brotanek's argument (as given by Kastner) there is indeed a case for accepting this poem as authentic.

This completes my consideration of the possible errors in

1. Kastner, II, 424-5.
2. Kastner, II, 245.
3. Kastner, II, 327.

Kastner's edition. Kastner had, as I have suggested, a clear idea where to draw the line in printing new material from the MSS; he was hardly less opposed than David Laing to the principle of "indiscriminate publication." He refused like Laing to admit "unfinished productions" to the canon, and his criterion for rejecting these was lack of rhyme. He had firm opinions about what was "unsuited for public view," and so he passed a number of vulgarities by on the other side. His acquaintance with the MSS themselves was less than he claimed in the preface to his edition, and had he known them better he would not have attributed so many doubtful lines to his author.

Yet a new edition of Drummond's poems is neither likely or necessary, and the additions and subtractions I have described should only be considered as amendments to Kastner. For all but the posthumous poems Kastner can hardly be faulted; his text is reliable, his commentary knowledgeable and scholarly. If he had studied the MSS in more detail he would have avoided the errors he did make.

The greatest difficulty that an editor of Drummond's verse will meet is deciding what to print from the MSS and what to leave alone. I do not mean by this that the problem of deciding what is and what is not Drummond's is insoluble; indeed, in this chapter I have shown that close inspection of the arrangement of the MSS gives very firm directions in this respect. What is difficult is to know how much of Drummond's own writings to reproduce. The "unfinished productions" are many, and some are

much more unfinished than others. Kastner retrieved only rhyme, while Fogle chose to print several pieces that settled only shakily into metre.

Faced with the confusion in some leaves of the MSS, I believe that all an editor can do is to pick out anything that resembles a poem, if it is in metre, however rough. The Inventory of the "Addition" should be a help here. For the rest, the translations and prose jottings, these can be left alone. But the reader must be told the criteria of the editor's selection, and where he can find the residue. This, finally, is Kastner's chief sin: he implies that he has printed everything, when he has suppressed some things. The reader deserves to be trusted.

CHAPTER VIII

DRUMMOND'S METHODS OF COMPOSITION AS
REVEALED IN HIS MSS

Although we have more of Drummond's literary remains than those of any other poet of his day, the disappointing fact is that in many ways the Hawthornden MSS show us only intermittent glimpses of the artist at work. What we can see, however, is revealing, and by careful examination of the fragments we can build up a fairly detailed picture of Drummond's poetic method. The workbook for the earliest (and best) poems has disappeared, probably destroyed by Drummond himself, and the notes on books read and translations made seem to be incomplete. We have the workbook for the later poems (that is, those composed after 1620, when the Poems(1616) and most of the Flowres of Sion were already complete), and a large amount of scattered material in the two commonplace books. From the former we can examine several verses in various stages of composition, and see how Drummond polished his rough drafts; from the latter we can piece together enough evidence of his habits in notetaking to expose the foundations on which he built his poems.

Early in the first commonplace book (MS. 2050, ff. 27-29), written - to judge by the hand - shortly before Drummond began to write poetry in earnest, is a rhyme list. This is set down over several leaves in the MS, arranged under the letters of

the alphabet, and was augmented (as the ink shows) from time to time. Here are some extracts:

A anguisch languisch
alas surpass ouerpass ...

C contrarie carrie
 cam I am
 content punischment repent sent torment relent spent ...

L loue al aboue al
 louer houer
 Lords vords ...

S syt delyt micht fight spight light bright hight plight
 vight ...

T Tchocht vrocht nocht
Tel duel vel smel excel ...

V veiping sleeping ...
 viss deuiss
 vit it sit pit commit
 vind behind
 verss rehearss
 vant scant

On the face of it, this list seems aimless and since Drummond did not trouble to fill in many of the letters we might suppose that he too soon recognized that it was little help having "vit it sit pit comit" as an aid to poetic inspiration. But we must remember that he was a Scotsman, struggling to learn and write English. His spelling at this time was erratic ("nicht fight"); partly Scots, partly English. The printer could perhaps correct this, but rhymes would betray his tongue. This list was probably compiled from his readings in the English poets, for as we shall see later Drummond paid attention to rhymes throughout his notetaking. It is interesting to note that although Scots spellings are frequent ("Tchocht vrocht nocht") there are few

rhymes ("Lords vords" is one) that would ring untrue in an English pronunciation.

This rhyme list is the only formal example of a poet's apparatus in the MSS, though it is by no means the only evidence we have of Drummond's determined attempt to prepare himself for the summons of his Muse. His commonplace books are filled with his notes on his reading; if we look at these carefully we can see both how he used them to educate himself, and how he drew on them when he came to write his verse.

On first sight his notes are not promising, and it is difficult to make anything of them. Take a passage from the end of the first commonplace book (MS.2059, ff.399v-400v) whose source I have not been able to identify. This appears just after some extracts from William Warner's poetical work Albion's England, and is headed "Paralipomena." (This title was used by some authors of the period to describe things omitted from the main body of their work, or additions to their canon.)

vassal feare / the cythian orbe luna /
disparage to rule
from Gades vnto Gange from china to thule.
thou like a heunlie Signe
compacte of many golden starres didst shine
alte mie parole high praise
gemmantia sydera the gemmye starres ...
Howres daughters of the sune.
From alexanders to Alicides bounds.
the cristed Hills.
The Nyle which knowne is by his vnknownen source.
Though I had as many mouthes as fame.
Foule vglie Death that my best part hast slaine
or take the rest and rander it againe.

WD his Cypresse on the Death of SWS.
vnbodied vncorcopart.
out-gaze
to allay feares .i. free on of them suppressse.

azure armes.
faire-maynd coursers.
his reeking sword late crimsond in his foe.
When furye rides on horrors wings.
the vaulted helmets.
deafning clangor.
the marble floore of Heauen.
a ceaseless current .l. fluuius.
Showres twitched with Midas hand.

bloud the verdure staine .1. the grasse.
the high rooffe of Olympicke Hall.

Nights iettye stallions.

leaden slumbers.

The booke is shut of thy precedant deeds
and fame vnclaspes an other where she reads
The glassie pyramide of bright renowne
from when on can not come but tumbleth downe,
in the court of Fame.
None Else but vertuous enrolle their name.¹

We might well wonder what sort of work these lines are taken from: is this Drayton at his floweriest, celebrating some man-of-arms, or Daniel, or some lesser poet? Or is it perhaps a translation, for besides the phrases quoted, it includes a piece of Latin verse, beginning

ambit te zephyrus rectorem destinat Euris ...

and even a line of Greek

ὡς ἡλῖος βασιλεὺς ἀγάπας.

Could it be the rough draft of an original work, "WD his cypresse on the Death of SWS?" Elsewhere in the same MS is the title of a projected poem "W.D. his cypresse ouer the graue of S.W.A.." ² and this we can confidently identify as the title of

1. See Plates XIII - XIV for a guide to how much has been omitted.

2. MS. 2059, F. 183r. Drummond's particular use of the word "cypresse" as a funeral lament is not recorded by O.E.D.

PLATES XIII-XIV. Notes on the "Paralipomena"
(MS 2059, ff. 399v-400r)

Parahomonia.

vassal sure / for cyprusian orbe time

dispute to rule

from ends with cross from spirit to soul.

for like a painful sign
to mark of many older strokes dost shine
all the more puzzle for fish praise

Gemmae Sydera for common strokes

Sol. for pointing orbis

as indus Badikeus ayatus.

disputing like disturbed mounds.

clamour flies so fish for wound strokes poison

poles hope in Lydian umbels.

for blindest of all men transpired to poison
for crimson paps of war.

Sapphine streams.

Wingspring Rumor.

for noble bulgare.

for older Tolors of strokes / of line.

for great salt plains.

The furrow sea for of the sand.

Lyons daughters of for sun.

From a grander to a kinder bound.

for orsted hills.

The Nile rising known is by fish but known source.
troughs find as many mounds as fairs.

For a bold bold but my best part past shine
or take for left or under it again.

Drummond's never-completed eulogy of his friend Sir William Alexander. But who is "SWS?" - an abbreviation for Sir William Alexander of Stirling, or another man entirely? Are these notes for a poem on some martial hero, "his reeking sword late crimsond in his foe?"

The problem is only compounded by the discovery of a number of passages in the second commonplace book (MS.2060, f. 132r). In these many of the phrases from the first notes are repeated, thus:

from Gades vnto Gange.
 vnbodyed
 imblaze his fame,
 out-gaze
 the perled brouke.
 and to alay these feares .l. free her of them
 azure armes,
 faire-mayned coursers, horses
 his reeking sword late crimsond in his foe
 when fury rides on horrors wings
 the vaulted helmets

Do these words describe some Alexander the Great, a conqueror of the world, his fame "imblazed" from "Gades vnto Gange?"

If we are puzzled by passages such as these, we are not alone, for others who have had occasion to look at Drummond's notes have found themselves in difficulties. W.W. Greg, when taking his transcript of Drummond's selection from Peele's Hunting of Cupid - the work is now lost - confessed he could make little of his "strangely muddled jottings." "The writer," he said, "evidently noted down, in a very bad hand, any lines or phrases that struck his fancy as he read the play ..." and

his "notes are not always very intelligible."¹

On close inspection we can see that Drummond's jottings are not so muddled as all that, and that there is in fact some system about them. If we look at his notes from an identifiable source and compare what he took with what he left, we may discover his method. This may not give us all the answers to the difficulties of the "Paralipomena" quoted above, but it will suggest what some of those answers are likely to be.

When he first began to take notes on his reading, Drummond copied out whole passages, whole poems, even whole works into his commonplace books. The Inventory shows what a quantity of Sidney's Arcadia, Pasquier's Recherches and the Amadis de Gaule is there more or less intact; such industry must have made him well acquainted with his favourite authors. After about the year 1612, when he began to write poetry himself, there is a noticeable change in the manner of his notetaking. He does not extract whole poems or passages to the same extent, but develops a system of "filleting" the poetic diction from his reading. (One can date his notes fairly accurately by comparing them with his reading lists, and after the year 1614, by judging the date of his handwriting.) This picking out of "phrases that struck his fancy" began in a modest way: he isolates, for instance, the epithet "bashful dread" from one of Sidney's "Certain Sonnets" (MS.2059, f.292r). Soon he is

1. Malone Society Collections, I, Parts 4 & 5 (Oxford, 1911), p.p. 307-14.

paying more attention to rhyme, and while reading Francis Davison's Poetical Rhapsody in 1609 he takes down several lines. Thus from the second verse of "Of his Mistress face," he has

morne vnshorne adorne borne, reflex vex sex perplex.
smiles beguiles vholes viles. yuth truth renuth
persuth (MS.2059 f.356v)

From these beginnings, in which his chief concern is still to capture the essence of the whole poem rather than its parts, he moves towards taking notes on nothing but diction. His preoccupations now become stylistic; he copies out words, phrases or lines that seem to him adornments, as though he was plucking flowers from a meadow. He is interested in oddity, in obscurity, in the unusual word; he is not interested in ideas.

By 1613 this turn towards self-education has established itself, and his notes even employ symbols for the sake of brevity. Thus in his extracts from Joshua Sylvester's minor works (printed with Sylvester's translation of Saluste Du Bartas' Divine Weekes) he starts a practice of explaining or translating the quoted rarities, thus;

eftsoones .l. breuiter instanter ...
demi-moores spaniards ...
Those craggy Hills whose name is tane from fyre .l.
pyrenees ...
phane .l. fanum
Hare-like hart .l. timid
vnderling l subject. l

-
1. MS.2059, f. 400v. Most of Drummond's notes are self-explanatory; he used the word "phane" or temple in his Cypresse Grove; "fanum" is the Latin for it.

The word or words before the symbol ".1." are Sylvester's; the word or words after Drummond's. The symbol, of course, is the equivalent of our equals sign. He uses this method with most of the notes made at this time, building up from his reading an extensive poetic vocabulary, never wasting a chance to improve his knowledge. Jonson of course is a treasure-house to him, and from the masques he culls

yond' .1. yonder ...
 wreathed shelles .1. buckes
 sea-maides .1. Mer M. [that is, mermaids] ...
 syluer starre .1. luna .¹

By this time (not long after 1616, when the first folio of Jonson's plays was printed) Drummond had developed his "jottings" into an idiosyncratic system, a melange of memoranda, all to feed his appetite for the ornament poetical. Here is an extract from his pages on Jonson's masque Hymenaei (incidentally, had the Hymenaei disappeared like Peele's Hunting of Cupid, we would have been hard put to construct anything out of these "strange jottings").

Iuno anagram. Vnio.
 wast, past, tast, cast, last,
 The bright Idalian starre
 that lighteth louers to their warre,
 Night the night that spreads her broad and blackish wing,
 vpon the world, the blacke sorceresse night ... (MS 2060,
 f. 294v).

The first words here are a contraction of the lines spoken by

1. MS 2060, f. 294r. Drummond's "wreathed shelles .1. buckes" is a puzzle. The "wreathed shelles" are conches carried by the Tritons in Jonson's The Masque of Blacknesse; see Herford and Simpson, VII, 170. Drummond's "buckes" is probably the same word as "buckie," Scots for the shell of a whelk. See D.O.S.T.

Reason

And see, where IVNO, whose great name
Is VNIO, in the anagram,
Displays her glistering state ...¹

We know that Drummond was fond of anagrams, and perhaps when he came to hear Jonson's own censure of them in their conversations in 1619 he remembered this example with ironic amusement.² The next line consists of the rhymes to a song several pages later in the masque,

Thinke, yet, how night doth wast³

At a guess, Drummond noted these because he was uncertain of the pronunciation of the rhymes, for his Scottish tongue was apt to lead him astray. The rhymes are not perfect - waste, haste and taste agreeing; past, hast and cast agreeing - we can only guess whether or not Drummond perceived the variation or was misled by it. The next line, on the "bright Idalian starre," comes from Reason's next verse.⁴ As Jonson explained at length, the star was Venus: for a would-be poet a learned commentary on the poetic diction was very useful, and someone like Drummond could glean much from the notes of a Jonson or a Ronsard. And so with the

1. Herford and Simpson, VII, 217.

2. Jonson "scorned Anagrams & had ever in his mouth
turpe est, difficiles amare Nugas.
et stultus labor est ineptiarum."

Herford and Simpson, I, 144.

3. Herford and Simpson, VII, 222.

4. Ibid.

last line, on Night:¹ throughout Drummond's note-taking, again and again similar passages are marked, descriptions or personifications of qualities or things - "beauty," "dawn," "jealousy," "Neptune," "a horse."² In his notes on the Hymenæi he had, incidentally, put down "blackish wing" for Jonson's "blackest wing," and added "the blacke sorceresse night" from some later passage.

Turning back now to the passage in the commonplace book titled "Paralipomena," having seen the method in Drummond's note-taking, we can make more sense than before of these "strangely muddled jottings." We can sort out Drummond's meanings, and understand for instance the words "the cythian orbe luna,"³ knowing that "luna" was supplied by Drummond himself as an explanation of the epithet "cythian orbe." And we can do the same with "bloud the verdure staine .l. the grasse;" or "and to alay these feares .l. free her of them." We can see that Drummond considered the phrase "Showres twitched with Midas hand" a choice piece of poetic diction, that he admired the cadence of "from Gades vnto Gange," and thought an epithet like "Nights iettye stallions" too good to miss. The "Paralipomena" must have come from one of the books he read, probably an English narrative verse with (to account for the occasional lines of

1. Herford and Simpson, VII, 223.

2. See Chapters I and II.

3. Drummond omits his usual sign ".l."

Latin or Greek) a marginal commentary. It is unlikely to have been his own translation, and it was certainly not a rough draft of an original composition.

We may characterise Drummond's note-taking as educational, serving his interest in the proper decorations - proper, that is, to him - of poesy. He is concerned with content not at all; he hardly notes an idea unless it approached the conceit. He marks few figures apart from the simile; most of the phrases he reproduces could be called transferred epithets, or epithets applied to things rather than persons.¹ He busies himself building up a poetic vocabulary, but he is interested in the ornaments themselves rather than the techniques of rhetoric.

His methods are fashioned after no discernible pattern other than that of his own devising. Most of the contemporary writers discussing the art of poetry occupied themselves categorizing and pigeon-holing, tracking down every last figure of speech, cornering each trope. Puttenham allowed that ornament poetical should be fashioned "... to such purpose as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no litle from the ordinary and accustomed ..." and he listed a

1. George Puttenham called it the "Epitheton, or the Qualifier," which must, he said, "be apt and proper for the thing he is added vnto:" "darke disdaine" or "miserable pride" would not do, for the adjective contradicted the noun. The Arte of English Poesie, ed. G. D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 176 and pp. 182-3.

score or more specific figures.¹ Drummond had Puttenham in his library; he took his advice in general but not in particular; he collected exotica and ignored the technicalities. He had Jacques Peletier's Art poetique; he followed the erudition of Ronsard (with Muret's help), he studied symbolism, whether classical or emblematic. He copied the ornate and luxurious language of Marino, and the conceits of Sidney.² In the controversy conducted among his contemporaries between the merits of clarity and obscurity,³ Drummond veered towards the latter; in his notes as in his verse he seldom chose a simple phrase where a learned one would do. The advice he came closest to following is James VI's, who in his "Reulis and cautelis" told the apprentice poet to "mark also thrie speciall ornamentis to verse, quhilkis are, Comparisons, Epithetis, and Prouerbis."⁴

We might ask whether all his note-taking was necessary: were there no pocket companions for the budding poet in print?

1. Op.cit., p. 137. For a discussion of the Renaissance use of classical mythology and its parts (a subject impossible to separate from the epithets described here) see Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis, 1932).
2. See Chapter I for general information on Drummond's note-taking.
3. For a discussion of this controversy see Robert J. Clements, Critical Theory and Practice of the Pleiade (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 84 et seq.
4. "Ane schort treatise, conteining some reulis and cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottish Poesie," in The essays of a prentise (1584), repr. in The Poems of James VI. of Scotland, ed. James Craigie, STS (Edinburgh, 1955-58), I, 77.

Indeed there were, and Drummond had them. In the handbooks of Textor (Joannes Ravisius) was a wealth of ready-made erudition, arranged in sensible alphabetical order.¹ The Epitheta gave the right epithet - or two dozen right epithets - for every classical person, place or thing, from the most common to the most obscure, with a handy list of their use by classical authors. If one wanted to refer to Venus, one could take up Textor, turn to "V," and chose the appropriate epithet or name from a column three pages long: "Formosa, Palaepaphia, Amathunthia, Cytherea, Alma, Idalia, Acidalia ..." and so on, through "Cyprigena" and down to "Ignipotens" and "Secreta."² (Drummond's favourites were Idalia and Acidalia.) One could learn the locality of Gades or Ganges, and of the Nile "which knowne is by his vnknownen source" ("Incerta est eius origo").³ One could read about the undying amaranth, or the sombre cypress. Textor's Officina was as useful. It was arranged like a modern encyclopaedia, with hundreds of little articles on every subject that could possibly interest a writer, classical, biblical or contemporary, historical, scientific or literary. By using the index, one could quickly find information on the Argonauts or on Sodom, on prodigality or on

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1. Epithetorum Ioan. Rauisii Textoris ... opus innouatum ... (Basle, 1599) or earlier editions, and Theatrum poeticum atque historicum: siue officina Io. Rauisii Textoris ... (Basle, 1600) or earlier editions.
 2. Epitheta, ed.cit., pp. 848-51.
 3. Ibid., p. 568.

fortune. The Officina had numerous excerpts from classical and Renaissance authors, and so with a little trouble a man might well pretend to much more learning than he possessed.

Since Drummond had these handbooks in his library, it is reasonable to suppose that he used them, but as his MSS show, he was not content to rely on nothing else. He read with great appetite and much application, and built up a store of poetic diction in his notebooks. The Epitheta and the Officina and their like must have been useful for reference, but Drummond learned the language of poetry from his reading. When he began to write he naturally went to his notes, and drew on the accumulated plunder of his educative years. In its nature his poetry is artificial; it employs the Petrarchan conventions, and adds to these the adornments of Marino and a score of other practitioners, English, Scottish, French, Italian and Spanish. Decoration is supreme.

The sun, the moon, the night, the dawn, the sea are all accorded their proper epithet. The sun becomes the "Eye of Heauen" (I, 52),¹ the "bright Lampe of Day" (I, 55), the "Lampe of Heauens Christall Hall that brings the Hours" (I, 8), not to mention the ever-present "Phoebus." The moon is "Nights silent Queene" (I, 44), "Nights pale Queene" (I, 5). the "glorious Queene of Night" (I, 40), as well as the "Idalian Queene" (I, 25). The night is "blacke-brow'd" (I, 91), the dawn "blushing" (I, 26) and

1. This and the following references are to Kastner.

the sea "Thetis Bowres" (I, 120), or "Thetis Christall Floods" (I, 18). The poems are sprinkled with exotic adjectives - adamantine, glistring, sinople - and unusual verbs - stellify, invassal. The names of classical deities are invoked, the magic of classical places called upon: we are told of the Thracian Harper, of the Aganippe Well, of the Rock Capharean, the Hyperborean Hills, the Phlegraean Plain, of Ganemede, Orithyas Lover, Cynthia and Helen. Cheeks are "blubbred" with tears, Phoebus "ensaffrons" sea and air, and tears are "brinie Streames."

These are the sort of treasures that Drummond was laying up in his commonplace books, ready for use whenever his Muse called upon him. From what we have already seen of his MSS it is plain that the vocabulary he used in his verse was similar in kind to that he gathered in his notes; not surprisingly, it is easy to show that one supplied the other. Here are a few examples, taken from the "Paralipomena."

Leaving epithets and such like aside - for these are the small change of the poetic currency, and it would be hard to decide where Drummond first saw a phrase like "Idalian starre" - we may take the line "from Gades vnto Gange from china to thule." A useful expression, and Drummond put it to work several times:

From frozen Tanais to Sunne-gilded Gange ... (I, 86)

Then go and tell from Gades vnto Inde ... (I, 83)

Till thou hast flowne from Atlas vnto Gange ... (I, 45)

From Thule to Inde though I should with Her wander ... (I, 14).

Again, from the "Paralipomena," the phrase "Showres twitched wt

Midas hand" seems to have inspired

Haire, precious Haire which Midas Hand did straine ... (I, 42).
This is suggestive, but not perhaps really close; a more certain debt can be claimed for "Nights iettye stallions," which are skillfully transformed into

Or Moone at Night in jettie Charriot roll'd ... (I, 61).
"From Alexanders to Alicides bounds" becomes

Beyond Alcides Pillars, and those bounds
Where Alexanders fame till now resounds ... (II, 131).

These are just a few examples to show how one passage of notes on one work was used by Drummond in his compositions; with a little labour it could be duplicated for many sections of the commonplace books.

There is no need here to repeat the facts about Drummond's unusual use of other men's work, beyond referring to Kastner's statement that a full third of his compositions are translations or close paraphrases, and the rest are best described as adaptations from foreign models. This judgement is of course documented in Kastner's notes, and since his edition was printed a number of scholars have come forward with even more examples of Drummond's plunder.¹ (I will insert one small example of my

1. See my chapter in the Library. In his edition of Drummond's A Midnight's Trance (Oxford, 1951), pp. v-vi, R. Ellrodt gives a list of all articles published since Kastner's edition in 1913. This can be augmented by Ellrodt's own "More Drummond Borrowings," HLQ, XVI (1953), 305-10; and "William Drummond's Cypresse Grove and the Somnium Scipionis," NQ, IX (Oct., 1962), 376-7; and by Ronald Jack's discoveries of Drummond's indebtedness to Sir William Alexander and William Fowler (in an unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Edinburgh).

own here, since it has just caught my eye: Drummond's line

How long thy Minde with horride Shapes affrighte ... (I, 66)
is surely a reflection of

And not my soule with ougly shapes t'affright ...

which occurs in David Murray's The tragical death of Sophonisba.¹
Drummond had this work in his library, and he read it in 1611,
just a year or two before he composed his Poems.)

The commonplace books as we have seen contain extracts from
the authors Drummond read, and many of these are from the same
authors he adapted and translated. Ronsard, Sidney and Donne
appear in abundance, as well as lesser writers in smaller degree.
Often, as in the case of the Italian madrigalists, the very
passages Drummond translated or adapted for his verse are written
out in full.² There are though many absentees: no Desportes,
very little Tasso, and most surprisingly, no Marino. Since
Drummond took so much from these three, we can be certain that he
made notes on them, and we must regret that these are now lost.

What we have in the commonplace books is not always helpful.
There are only some leaves - such as those on the madrigalists,
mentioned above - that one can look at and say, these are the
notes on which this or that poem was based. But having made this
identification, one is often not much further forward: we might,

1. In Poems by Sir David Murray of Gorthy, Bannatyne Club
(Edinburgh, 1823), f. D3v.

2. See Kastner's notes and the Inventory, for instance, Valerio
Belli's madrigal on the world, II, 69.

for instance, point to parts of Drummond's long poem "The Shadow of the Iudgement," and following Kastner's hint, check the notes in the MSS on Ronsard. Drummond adapted much of his poem from Ronsard's "Hymne de l'Eternite," and Kastner shows how closely he followed his model by examining the passage in Ronsard beginning

Tout au plus haut du Ciel dans vn throne doré¹

This passage is in fact copied out in full in Drummond's commonplace book (MS 2059, f. 328v), but this is not very informative, for beyond establishing that Drummond was indeed familiar with Ronsard's "Hymne," there is nothing in the MSS to show how he used it, and no sign that he even preferred his own transcription to the printed work.

Drummond's workbook or "Addition" is more helpful in this respect, and from fragments towards the end of this volume we can see something of his method of handling translations. (These leaves are in a rough state written in a bad hand; notes on them are often incoherent and sometimes illegible.) When Drummond made translations from works he intended to adapt, he seems to have turned his models directly into a form of verse. His lines are set out in a kind of metre, and only occasionally do they break into pure prose. Here is an example:

Death vainquishd, sinne destroyed, man bought againe
His rising breeds in vs assured hope
That wee some day shall rise.

1. Kastner, II, 339-40.

The head shall it rise and the members not.
 Death and Nature in a maze remaine,
 Nature to see men rise from ashe and Dust,
 Death to see life free of her entrailles borne,
 Both are astonisht twice to see vs borne.
 The first tyme weake and feeble little Babes,
 Thereafter so establishd and [reinforced?] ¹
 That nought to our complet perfection lakes.

From the subject matter of the translations that survive, we may give them a date around the year 1620. Drummond was at that time finishing his Flowres of Sion, and completing its longer poems. The translations in the "Addition" are all from works describing the creation, the day of judgement or other Christian visions, and these too are the subjects of Drummond's verses. Kastner pointed out that Drummond borrowed from Ronsard and Du Bartas in "The Shadow of the Iudgement;"² these translations show that he went to Tasso and others, in fact, to a selection of Divine Weeks.

Here is another example of these translations:

High aboue the worlds flaming walles
 Inuested with Glorie the eternall sits
 Tyme motion place are farre his feet beneath
 The people of the light doe him attend
 Millions of millions, and as Rayes neere the sune
 One looketh to this starre, on vnto that
 This influence vnto a planet giues
 The Moone the Sunne, the leadish, amorous lightes
 These swiftlie guyde. This mitigates the aire
 This ouer lookes the sea, a prouince this
 Hath care of, that a king
 The elected these do keepe as God him doth command.
 These looke to armes and giue victorie as God ordaines.
 (f. 229r).

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1. MS 2062, f. 146r. Further references in the text are to this volume.
 2. Kastner, II, 342.

This is plainly a translation rather than an original composition. Drummond has made some effort to put his version straight into the appropriate metre, but he has not attempted rhyme (he wrote no blank verse). The last lines here cross the boundary into prose.

By the side of this piece Drummond wrote the name "Gamon." In his library we find an obscure work by the Calvinist poet, Christophe de Gamon, La semaine, ou creation du monde ... contre celle du Sieur de Bartas, printed at Geneva in 1609.¹ This then is Drummond's source, though I have not found the exact passage in it.² La semaine is an extremely long and tedious poem, and Gamon's chief reason for writing it seems to have been his desire to correct Du Bartas' theological errors, a preoccupation which makes the poems not only didactic but irritatingly so. But La Semaine was grist to Drummond's mill, and it gave him an opening for his "The Shadow of the Iudgement."

He adapted Gamon with verve, and considerable freedom, keeping only a few phrases intact from his translation, altering, shaping and above all adorning his rather prosaic source. I will quote Drummond's opening lines in full.

1. Library 1049.

2. The passage may not be from Gamon, for Drummond's glosses do not always indicate his source, as can be seen from the passage quoted below, which, though he marked "Tasso," he took from Dante. In MS 2058, f. 312r, are some notes which may be associated with these translations. They give folio numbers to a work on the subject of the creation. I have not identified this work; it is not Sylvester.

Aboue those boundlesse Bounds where Starrs do moue,
 The Seeling of the christall Round aboue,
 And Raine-bow-sparkling Arch of Diamond cleare,
 Which crownes the azure of each vnder Spheare,
 In a rich Mansion radiant with light,
 To which the Sunne is scarce a Taper bright,
 Which, though a Bodie, yet so pure is fram'd,
 That almost spirituall it may bee nam'd;
 Where Blisse aboundeth, and a lasting May,
 All Pleasures heightning flourisheth for ay,
 The King of Ages dwells. About his Throne
 (Like to those Beames Days golden Lamp hath on)
 Angelike Splendors glance, more swift than ought
 Reueal'd to sence, nay, than the winged Thought,
 His will to practise: here doe Seraphines
 Burne with immortall loue, there Cherubines
 With other noble people of the Light,
 As Eaglets in the Sunne, delight their Sight¹

Gamon states flatly that the Eternal sits "High aboue the worlds
 flaming walles inuested with Glorie;" Drummond describes the
 glory "in a rich Mansion radiant with light." The Eternal he
 makes "The King of Ages," who "dwells" in divine remoteness,
 rather than displaying the more human activity of sitting. He
 kept Gamon's "people of the light" but forgot their duties, save
 for a brief reference in a later line to "Sweet Quiristers, by
 whose melodious Straines/Skies dance"² Presbyterian though
 he was, it suited him to ignore Gamon's "elected," for he wished
 no dogma to mar his grand vision.

On the same page in the MSS as the translation from Gamon is
 a translation from Dante on the same theme. This reads:

1. Kastner, II, 50.

2. Kastner, II, 51.

Inditio X

Hee who all this all doth moue, whose glorie
 penetrates and shineth more in one part of the
 Vniuerse than in another more in heauen than
 earth enuironed with light sitteth about the
 highest heauen the sunes eternall sune. about
 him circles of angelles turne swifter than the motion
 that whirls about the world. and those
 circles with other were enuironed as Rayes about the
 sune. angeles were about god. This admirable
 and angelike Temple which is only confined
 by loue and light. Which hath onlie loue and light
 for the Walles of it. Who loues most knowes most
 of the angelles seraphines, cherubines,
 Thrones
 That Truth in which all vnderstanding
 pauseth .1. dead
 Denominations and vertues, and poweres principaleties
 Archangelles angelles .9. lucid substance.
 Wisdome and power heere sit.
 vnder his feet (subiected to his grace sit Nature,
 motion, fortune time and place / Tasso.
 X The Blew-floord skie (f. 229r).¹

This description of the Almighty and his attributes could have
 furnished Drummond with a theme for a number of passages in the
Flowres of Sion and in his prose piece, A Cypresse Grove, but he
 certainly seems to have been thinking of it when writing the
 beginning of "The Shadow of the Iudgement," From the "angelike
 Temple which is only confined by loue and light" he makes a
 "rich Mansion radiant with light;" from "about him circles of

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1. With the exception of the last two lines, most of this
 passage is a translation of scattered lines from Canto 28 of
 Dante's Paradiso, with the first three lines being a
 translation from Canto 1, lines 1-3. I am most grateful to
 Professor C. P. Brand and his colleagues for identifying this
 passage for me. From Drummond's insertion of "Tasso" in the
 penultimate line, it is possible that the last two lines are
 from one of Tasso's works (although Professor Brand has been
 unable to identify them).

angelles turne swifter than the motion that whirles about the world. and those circles with other were enuironed as Rayes about the sun" he fashions

About his Throne
(Like to those Beames Days golden Lamp hath on)
Angelike Splendors glance, more swift than ought
Reueal'd to sence, nay, than the winged Thought,
His will to practise¹

His inclination is to elaborate - the sun becomes "Days golden Lamp" - which, for a subject like this, is entirely fitting. His lines are a skilful marriage of his two sources; his "King of Ages" dwells in greater splendour than ever.

A leaf or two later in the MSS is another passage again titled "Inditio." This begins

The swimming people dye along the shore
persian prince what Indian
What Scythian [prince scored through] with horrid
squadrones crownd
of our short earthlie and vncertaine warre
now is a certaine end ... (f. 230Br).

This too may be associated with the previous piece, if we can trust the link of the title "Inditio." It reinforces the suggestion that the first passage "Inditio" was the source for a part of the beginning of "The Shadow of the Iudgement," for this second passage - there can be no doubt - was the source for some lines in the last half of the same poem. "The swimming people dye along the shore" became

1. Kastner, II, 50.

The humid Swimmers dye along the shoare ...¹
 and "What Scythian prince wt horrid squadrones crownd"

What Persian Prince, Assirian most renown'd,
 What Scythian with conquering Squadrones Crown'd²

We have seen something of Drummond's sources, both his treatment of translations and his use of his notes; now we may look at him in the process of polishing a poem. His "Addition" has many rough drafts of a number of poems, and in some cases several drafts of the same poem, and by examining these we can follow the order of his emendations. At the same time it may be worth checking on the editorial practice of L. E. Kastner, and noticing whether or not he recorded variant readings faithfully.

Few of the poems printed during his lifetime appear in the "Addition," and this is unfortunate, for Drummond considered his printed poems his best, and posterity has agreed with him. The earliest example of a poem in various stages of completion is the posthumous verse

Like to the solitarie pelican ...³

which is titled in Kastner's edition "Saint Peter, after the denying his master," and in the MS, "Dauid or Saint peter after the denying his master." From the colour of the inks that Drummond used it is easy to make out his first and second thoughts,

1. Kastner, II, 57.

2. Kastner, II, 62.

3. Kastner, II, 214.

and to determine at what stage he made his various alterations. Here then is his first version (underlined words were later corrected):

Like to the solitarie pelican
 The thicke growen groues I hant and Deserts wyld
 Amongst woods Burgesses, from sight of Man,
 from earths delights from myne owne selfe exild,
 But that remorse which with my fall begane
Doth not mee leaue, nor is by change beguild,
 But teares my soule, and like a famished chyld
still wailes its wants, who Nurse doe what shee can.
 Looke how the shricking Bird that courtes the Night
 In ruind walles doth lurke and gloomie place,
 of Sune of heauen[?] of Day I shune the light
 Not knowing where to turne what to embrace
 How to those lights should I lift these of myne
 Since they offended him who made them shine (f. 15v).

Though this is obviously not a first draft - for it seems altogether too polished for that - it does have several variants that distinguish it from the printed version. These are underlined in the above quotation; in the MS itself the words are scored through, and the emendations are written in above. These are

- "shadie" for "thicke growen" (1. 2)
- "sinne" for "fall" ["fall" is not scored through] (1. 5)
- "relenteth not" for "Doth not mee leaue" (1. 6)
- "rentes" for "teares" (1. 7)
- "renewes its cryes" for "still wailes its wantes" (1. 8)
- "though" for "who" (1. 8)
- "doth lurke in ruind walles" for "In ruind walles doth lurke"
 (1. 10)
- "of Moone of Starres art" for "of Heauen of Day" (1. 11)
- "Heauens" for "those" (1. 13)
- "I denied" for "they offended" (1. 14).

Below the last line, as a note for this last emendation, is written "denyed thee." The verse in its emended state according to the MS should thus be:

Like to the solitarie pelican
 The shadie groues I hant and Deserts wyld
 Amongst woods Burgesses from sight of Man,
 from earths delights from myne owne selfe exild,
 But that remorse which from myne sinne beganne
 relenteth not, nor is by change beguild,
 But rentes my soule, and like a famished chyld
 renewes its cryes, though Nurse doe what shee can.
 Looke how the shricking Bird that courtes the Night
 doth lurke in ruind walles and gloomie place,
 of Sune of Moone of Starres I shune the light
 Not knowing where to stray what to embrace
 How to Heauens lights should I lift these of myne
 Since I denyed him who made them shine.

Kastner, who claims to reproduce the posthumous poems "exactly as they stand in the Manuscripts,"¹ makes a few errors in his transcription of this poem. In line 5 he accepts "fall" for "sinne," presumably because "fall" is not scored through, even although "sinne" is written in in the ink of the emendations. "Sinne" is the better word besides, being more accurate in the theological sense. Two lines later he has "rules" for "rentes" and in line 10 he misses the transference - both corrections which sharpen the verse. He records that "denyed thee" is written in underneath the last line, but does not interpret it as a suggestive note for the emendation "I denied."

The verse next in the MS - "The woefull Marie midst a blubbred band" (ff. 16-19) - is in the same state as the last, with a clean copy being worked over at a later date, as one can again see from the colour of the inks used. The emendations are for the most part minor, but they all serve to tighten and point

1. Kastner, I, xii.

PLATE XV.

"Like to the solitarie pelican"
(MS 2062, f. 15v)

the verse, both in sense and rhythm. Thus in line one, "midst a blubbred band" is an improvement on "with a blubbred band." The poem was corrected twice after the draft set down here, and on the MS the first set of emendations appear in the form of alternatives, with the second set deciding the matter. Thus in line 4 "wailing" is first offered for "plaintfull" nightingale, and afterwards rejected.

Kastner's attitude to these variants is not consistent, for though he adopts some, he ignores others.¹ He takes, for instance, "midst" for "with" in the first line, but not "Which sees her yonglings ..." for "That sees her yonglings ..." in the fifth. The first copy of the eighth line appears in the MS as

of that report which chargd her mind with feares ...

and was emended to

of that report which filld her all with feares

This was then changed to

of that sad news which chargd her mind with feares ...

with the alternative of

of thes strange news which charged her mind with feares

One of the last two versions was Drummond's final choice, and an editor might be allowed to decide which seemed the better.

Kastner, however, goes back to the first draft, even though the alternatives supplied were not rejected by Drummond, and prefers it to the other lines. Throughout the whole poem his treatment

1. Kastner, II, 215.

The next draft reads:

fond Man who dreameth to thy selfe a State,
or Throne of earthie Glorye doth deuise,
Learne heere (poore pigmey) that thou art not Great,
Nor blist, and this Monument turne wise (f. 101r).

Drummond now has his rhymes settled. His beginning is still prosaic, and his last line nonsense; altogether the verse seems weak and flat.

His emendations at this stage serve to elevate the language and correct the sense, and would make the verse run

fond wight who dreamst on this earth a State,
or Throne of mortall Greatnes dost deuise,
Learne heere (poor pigmey) How thou art nor Great,
Nor Rich, and looking to this Monument turne wise,

(The emendations are again underlined.) Beside the verse is written "to Mortall Breathes" - a suggestion for the second line. In the last line, for "Nor blist" he first had "Nor faire," but rejects that in favour of "Nor Rich."

On the blank opposite page he tries out alternative lines, thus:

Who dreamst on earth a happye state
And Thrones of mortall Gloryes dost deuise
and wingd with hopes dost Towre
soare aboue the skyes

and

Fond wight who heere on Greatnesse dreamst or State
Wingd with fraile Hopes who Towrest aboue
Learne (pigmey) how on earth thou art not great
and wingd with Hopes dost toure aboue the skyes

and for the last two lines, the emendations supplied

Learne (pigmey) that on earth none can be great
Nor blist, and by this

PLATE XVI.

"Fond wight, who dreamest of Greatnesse,
Glorie, State" (MS 2062, f. 101r)

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and

and wingd with Hopes wouldst toure aboute the skyes (f. 100v).

None of these however seem to be the answer, and they are all rejected.

On the next leaf another draft is copied out:

Fond Wight who dreamest of Beautye State
And instant Worlds of pleasure dost deusie,
Learne how art nor noble faire nor Great
poore pigmey, By this Monument turne wise (f. 102r).

He has now settled on a few phrases: "Fond Wight who dreamest," "Worlds of pleasure," "by this Monument turne wise." (The last he had from the start.) He has his rhymes (having contemplated a change earlier), and he is still hanging on to his "poore pigmey." He has yet to straighten out the muddle of his second and third lines.

The emendations to this draft are not much help, although one word, "glorious," is introduced, which stays, the first line is filled out to its proper length, and sense is restored to the third.

Fond Wight who dreamest of bloud of Beautye State
Anaxagores of blisse of pleasure pryd deuise,
Learne how thou art nor noble Glorious faire nor Great
Worlds pigmey, By this monument turne wise.

The last draft turns the verse into its finished form:

Fond Wight, who dreamest of Greatnesse, Glorie, State,
And Worlds of pleasures Honoures dost deuise,
Awake, learne how that heere thou art nor Great,
Nor Glorious; By this Monument turne Wise (f. 103Br).

Much labour on a simple memorial; words did not flow easily from Drummond's pen.

If these drafts are typical - and they agree with what else

we know of Drummond as a writer - we can draw a few conclusions about his method of composition. We know from the researches of Kastner and others that Drummond borrowed both language and ideas, working other men's lines and conceits into his poems. Drummond was not an original poet: "The woefull Marie," for instance, was an imitation of a Canzone of Marino.¹ I have shown how he accumulated a poetic vocabulary from his reading, setting the phrases he admired down in his notebooks, and how he translated and transformed his foreign sources. We must presume that when composing he remembered or looked about for a model. Judging by the drafts we have examined, in putting words on paper he thought first of his rhymes, and settled on his metre. Thus in "Fond Wight" he has "state deuise great wise" from the first, and his metre stays unchanged. Certain phrases come to him, epithets and such like, a beginning and an end, "Fond Wight" and "By this monument turne wise." He has the form of the verse in his mind; his "Fond Wight" dreams of mortal grandeur, and is to see the monument and realize the emptiness of human vanity. From then on it is a matter of working away until things come right. Even when the verse reaches a state satisfactory in both sense and metre, as we can see from "Like to the solitarie pelican," there is still polishing to be done. What one might suggest from watching Drummond at work is how restricted he is by his diction. When he tries alternative phrases and lines they often appear as

1. Kastner, II, 387-9.

ready-made images, and should he accept them, would cause him to recast the whole line or verse. Thus

and wingd with hopes dost Towre
soare aboue the skyes

seems like a recollection from his reading, and though in itself pleasing, it is no help to the verse. It is not in the nature, even figuratively, of pygmies to tower or soar above the skies.

To conclude this investigation of Drummond's poetic method let us look at a work he did not complete. In the first of his commonplace books there is a blank title-leaf which reads

"W.D. his cypresse ouer the graue of S.W.A." (MS 2059, f. 183r). This leaf may have been the wrapping for a poem, or it may have been made out by way of good intentions, but certainly there survive in the MSS some fragments which are probably this "cypresse." The subject of the projected poem, "S.W.A.," was Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, a man whom Drummond honoured as a friend and fellow-poet, though Alexander's career at court had raised his station far above the modest ambitions of the laird of Hawthornden. Drummond was the younger, and he had sought out and cultivated Alexander when his first attempts at poetry were praised. They joined together in a pastoral companionship as poetic shepherds: Alexander was Alexis, and Drummond his Damon. Now some twenty-five years later, in 1640 at Alexander's death, Drummond planned to mourn his friend and teacher.

On a leaf in the second commonplace book are some notes for

the eulogy:

Alphander

His deedes in caledonia arcadia alexandria
 His poesies adding to the Ionathan
 His grauitie and wit in counsell
 His frendship loue familiaritie with his frends
 his alliance with the greatest
 His Humanitie towards all (MS 2060, f. 200r).

This list of Alexander's virtues needs little comment. His deeds in "caledonia" are his affairs in Scotland as a servant of James I and Charles I; "arcadia" is a reference to his work patching up Sidney's Arcadia, providing a link between the old and new versions; his "alexandria" was his ill-fated colony in what is now Nova Scotia. His "poesies adding to the Ionathan" is another way of saying "his poetical works up to and including the Jonathan" (the Jonathan was the last of Alexander's works to be printed in his lifetime).

After a gap come two more notes

His breeding at Leiden
 His naturall iudgement about learning.

These are followed by a list of books which could furnish suitable models for the eulogy.

Tasso of the cardinall of Ferrara.
 The treatease in prose of a ministeres wyfe.
 paradis de Henrye le grand.
 Macarites of lectius in the Colledge.
 Antonius for Iulius Cesare.
 Tablettes of P. Mathieu or Violets of Death.

I identify these as follows: the first is Torquato Tasso's funeral oration for Cardinal Luigi d'Este,¹ the next, the

1. An "Orazione nella morte del Card. Luigi d'Este" is listed in the edition of Venice, 1735-42 of Tasso's Opere, Vol. VIII (continued overleaf)/...

"tretease in prose of a ministeres wyfe," may be Philip Stubbes' A crystall glasse for Christian women, an account of the holy life and saintly death of Katherine Stubbes, Philip's wife. Drummond had a copy in his library. The "paradis de Henrye le grand" is a mystery, though "Henry le grand" may perhaps be Henri Estienne, but I cannot find that he wrote a "paradis." The next book is Jacobus Lectius' Μαχαριτης, sive in suo bonorumque omnium luctu ex ... T. Bezae ἀκουσια suscepto consolatio (Geneva, 1606), which Drummond had already gifted to the library of the Town's College. "Antonius for Iulius Cesare" could refer to a number of works, including Shakespeare's tragedy; the oration scene is however absent from Plutarch, and the author is probably contemporary. The "Tablettes of P. Mathieu or Violets of Death" were known to Drummond through Sylvester's translation (included in his translation of Saluste Du Bartas' Divine Weekes). They had already been plundered by Drummond for his Cypresse Grove.¹

After the list of books Drummond has a few lines in prose, the beginning of a pastoral lament set in the form of a dialogue.

I expected an epitaph of thee, and now I must write
one for thee and on thee, receaue accepte of my brasse
for thy Gold.

Did yee heare Aretimus how Eurymedon resented the death
of Alphander. A. I was a witsse of his last duties to

(continued from previous page) (Dialoghi, Discorsi e Orazioni), 1738. See BN catalogue, This work was presumably included in an edition of Tasso Drummond had in his library (see Library 1284).

1. See R. Ellrodt's edition of A Midnight's Trance.

him. Philemon. Then relate to vs what yee know. Ph. After the report of the Newes hauing assembled so many as loued him, and were beloued of Alphander, in the night hauing assembled themselves and a coffin representing the defunct, hee had a long speech to his Memorye. Than repente so much [?] as yee was witnesse too (f. 200r).

This is a rough draft in an incomplete and fragmentary state, and it has the marks of a first attempt, such as alternative words ("receaue accepte" in the second line) and redundant repetition ("hauing assembled ... hauing assembled"). But it shows the way his mind was working, that he wished to celebrate his dead friend in the worthiest way possible, after the manner of classical heroes. What little we have here might in fact come from the Arcadia - and Drummond would not have wished for higher praise.

This attempt was abandoned, and from what I have found in the MSS it appears that Drummond turned to poetry. I say "it appears" since the pieces I am about to produce can by no means be certainly attached to Alexander. They are written in a late hand, which could date them to the year 1640, the year of Alexander's death, yet it is difficult to be sure. The first leaf is in the form of notes for verse, and begins:

Thy loue and loyaltye [constancye scored through]
and angelles registrate thy worth in heauen.
Thou hast left this low Earth to shine amongst the starres.
Thy Mind was too proude
for such a peruerse tyme heere to remaine
below with wicked men (MS 2062, f. 226r).

So far so good: this could fit Alexander. To Drummond his death did come in a "peruerse tyme," and the civil troubles of the country were, he thought, provoked by "wicked men." But

some later lines set a problem:

a woefull presage, this thy bloudye fall
Betokeneth bloud, and ruine to vs all

Alexander died in poverty, but in his bed.¹

The notes on the next leaf repeat the praise of the deceased, and suggest that Drummond thought himself out of practice as a poet:

The honneur of vertues and the graces
charged with honors and with yeares,
and if he had not attand these dignities
for his rare vertues hee deserued to attaine them,
and if my verse be not so courrant as before
The douleur of thy death weakend my sprit (f. 227r).

Whoever is being praised is "charged with ... yeares:" Alexander was seventy six at his death. He was a playwright too (like Alexander).

His buskind Muse each others doth outgoe ... (f. 227r).

The last page of notes details the achievements of the subject. Again, it is written in prose, which occasionally approaches metre:

amongst these many which orweep thy herse
If I had place vnto my verse
Than would I something say, though it [~~be~~ interred?]
If in this prease of mourners I could be heard
or that my plaintes would reach thee or adde to thy fame
heere then would I powre forth wordes*
but thou mayst spare all wake pen praise
Thy actiones are thy epitaphes, which can not dye

1. There were contemporary references to Alexander's "tragicke end," and a story (recorded at the end of the eighteenth century) of his strange and debasing funeral, when the coffin was arrested in the churchyard by demanding creditors. See Thomas H. McGrail, Sir William Alexander (Edinburgh, 1940), pp. 187-88.

The poore mans cause so oft maintaind
 The distrest and orphand, the discharging
 Thy princes burdens concredit to thy care
 The oracles of lawes pronounced by thee wher
 thou was an oedipus, the spires of thy buildings
 are so many pyramids of thy fame
 And if verse could saue mens memorye
 Thy owne are sufficent,** the libraryes red
 and raisd by thee. But though these be props
 of long endurance thy children*** are the liuliest
 which in spite of Tyme shall bare thy
 Glorie on earth. Thou hast liud long to thy
 selfe but too short a life for thy countrie
 Not maying deck thy Tombe with gold
 I will not burden it with brasse.

*for as when the seas rores the Marmades songs
 are not heard, no in great murning wake sobs are
 neglected.

**for what thou wryte of others is now thyne owne.

***The true coppies of so great a parent (f. 228r).

At the side is written "thy coppies," a note for the third footnote

If this is not Alexander, it is difficult to think of who it
 can be. A courtier, a poet, a setter-up of buildings and
 libraries, a man who lived long serving his king and country.
 Only one detail refuses to fit: Alexander's two sons died just
 before him, and his inheritance, such as it was, went to his
 grandson: perhaps by children Drummond meant poetic children.
 Apart from this, the identification seems safe, especially when
 we see the echo

Not maying deck thy Tombe with gold
 I will not burden it with brasse

from the "Alphander" notes quoted above:

I expected an epitaph of thee, and now I must write
 one for thee on thee, receaue accepte of my brasse
 for thy Gold.

Some more finished lines seem to belong to the same occasion:

A fragment on the death of ***

And shall I not haue teares this losse to plaine
O Heauens then will yee too deny me sorroe?
Doe not at last my sighes from mee detaine,
Of which in end some griefe my wordes may borrow.
Though gracelesse yee be wandring all this while,
Vnhappy wordes in ragged murning weedes,
To vnpleasing fates becomes vnpleasant stile,
And pittye naked seene more pittye breedes.

Through clowdes of sighes, through sorrow did yee stay,
Sob-broken voice and hast thou found the way?
Hath then the Griefe that forced my poore will
Giuen me leaue in my Verse to plaine my fill? (f. 92r).

The fragments are in too rough a shape for us to pass any but the most tentative judgement on them, but it does seem as if "my verse be not so courrant as before." If Drummond's hand had lost its cunning he seems to have felt that loss himself, and in abandoning his eulogy he acknowledged it. He had lost heart; death and dishonour were about him, he too was deep in debt, and there was no place now for the formalities of poetry. His spirit had indeed been weakened.